

THE MINORITY OF ONE

Independent Monthly Publication, Dedicated to the Elimination of All Thought Restrictions Except for the Truth

"There was truth and there was untruth, and if you clung to the truth even against the whole world, you were not mad."—GEORGE ORWELL

Vol. II, No. 6 (7)

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THE MINORITY OF ONE, INC.

Address for subscriptions and correspondence:
P. O. Box 6394, Richmond 30, Va.

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June, 1960

TO COUNTERACT A TRANQUILIZER

War Is Possible!

"After all, we had been familiar with these diplomatic conflicts for years; they were always happily settled at the last minute, before things grew too serious. Why not this time as well?"—such were Stefan Zweig's reflections* about the days immediately prior to World War I. But then "the first shock of the news of war—the war that no one, people or government, had wanted—the war which had slipped, much against their will, out of the clumsy hands of the diplomats who had been bluffing and toying with it, had suddenly been transformed into enthusiasm."†

After World War I, war was once more believed impossible. It was generally assumed that the development of aircraft, heavy bombs and lethal gases posed mutual hazards too great for any party to provoke war.

Once again this repeatedly compromised delusion is being vigorously promoted—this time not as a spontaneous naivete of individual dreamers but as the deliberate policy of men actively preparing for war. They are vitally interested in spreading the falsehood, for people everywhere are so acutely aware of the devastating results of a nuclear clash that, without being duped into believing it could not happen, they would stop at nothing, not even outright rebellion, to deprive the warmongers of power.

Actually war is still not only possible but also inevitable unless opposition to it is active and determined; were war impossible, were the use of nuclear bombs totally suicidal, we would not be producing the instruments of war. Producing nuclear bombs and at the same time contending that their use is out of the question is absolutely contradictory. One does not buy a gun that won't shoot, and an involuntary pacifist need not indulge in war drills. As long as nuclear weapons and other machines of mass murder and destruction are being produced, they are produced with the full intention and readiness of using them.

The guileful assurances that war has become impossible are intended to combat effective war opposition in order to proceed with actual war preparations. And when the misleading propaganda is compromised and we find ourselves right in the midst of the

* "The World of Yesterday," An Autobiography by Stefan Zweig, The Viking Press, New York, 1943, p. 219.

† Ibid., p. 223.

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Salk Vaccine Fiasco?

Dr. Ernest B. Zeisler's article, *The Great Salk Vaccine Fiasco*, included elsewhere in this issue, properly belongs to a medical journal. In publishing it here we were largely prompted by the author's personal note: "No newspaper, periodical, or medical journal will touch this. Many authorities in the field agree with me, and some have written me to say so and to congratulate me for what they call my 'courage'. But no medical man will agree with me PUBLICLY."

This sounds all too familiar, and the mere thought that even the nation's health could be sacrificed to the idol of conformity, if not to vested interests, is too potent in consequences to be lightly dismissed. It is the more disconcerting because Professor Zeisler is an eminent scholar who has made an impressive contribution to his profession, including articles in the very medical journals that "would not touch this."

The general public is hardly aware that the average physician had no opportunity to test the vaccine. He had to rely on medical authorities in most cases even unaware that the vaccine contains penicillin. Had he known this, he might have hesitated lest the vaccine cause a sensitization to penicillin.

We neither endorse nor are qualified to judge Dr. Zeisler's study. Furthermore, we are aware of the fact that statistical computations and analyses, from which his conclusions derive, offer themselves for numerous "reshufflings". But the issues involved cannot be settled by not letting him raise them. If Dr. Zeisler is right, a terrible crime—either of negligence, incompetence or fraud—has been committed on the American, and not only the American, public. If he is wrong, his dissertation must be attentively listened to and examined by properly qualified experts and then refuted. But silencing a man is no way of proving him wrong, especially in the realm of science. "Scientific" McCarthyism is the ultimate abyss of intellectual stagnation.

It had occurred to us that the fairest way to present Dr. Zeisler's conclusions in this publication would have been to include comments from the very medical authorities he undertakes to challenge. The implication of coercive, silencing methods, however, deterred us from submitting the manuscript to those professional experts lest additional pressures be applied for the continued suppression of this challenging study.

Whether or not Dr. Zeisler's

challenge of the effectiveness of the Salk vaccine has merit, we believe we are fulfilling a public duty in "giving him the floor". If he is wrong, his challenge will necessarily result in a reaffirmation of man's potential salvation from the horrendous calamity of polio paralysis, and the mind of the general public, as well as that of our scientific community, will have profited from questioning foregone as well as "inconceivable" conclusions. If he is right—and we devoutly hope he is not!—man will be freed from a false and dangerous Messiah.

Two reactions are possible to Dr. Zeisler's challenge: one would be coercive-punitive, the other—an unbiased re-examination of scientific and statistical data. We profoundly hope that the American Medical Association and other medical authorities will be responsibly inspired to forfeit vanity and vindictiveness and meet the challenge with the seriousness the problem demands.

THE MINORITY OF ONE INDEPENDENT MONTHLY PUBLICATION

published by:

THE MINORITY OF ONE, INC.

P. O. Box 6594

Richmond 30, Va.

SUBSCRIPTION RATES:

	1 yr.	2 yrs.
United States	\$5.00	\$9.00
Canada	\$5.25	\$9.50

Other foreign subscription rates submitted at request.

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WELCOME TO

"... On the one hand, (we are) supersensitive to real or imaginary espionage directed against us, while, on the other hand, (we) 'positively know' that each time an American agent is accused of spying the latter case is no more than an 'inconceivable lie' on the part of our enemies. Similarly, each time our adversaries claim to have detected our reconnaissance planes over their territories, we preconditionally 'know' that it was not so. And this in spite of the fact that, as nowhere else in the world, our magazines, radio, and television continually feature and extol the adventures of our intelligence agents."¹—these words were printed in THE MINORITY OF ONE in December, 1959 and we wonder how much of our mail accusing us of "un-Americanism", if not outright treason, was prompted by them. Six months later we are glad to welcome into the "Club of Traitors" not only a great part of the American press to which the above words were primarily addressed but also such men as Dwight D. Eisenhower, Christian Herter and Allen Dulles.

Irrelevant of the international consequences and implications (discussed in "War Is Possible!", elsewhere in this issue) involved in the case of our reconnaissance plane shot down over the Soviet Union the potential impact of this incident on American thinking can hardly be exaggerated. In this respect, we believe Secretary of State Christian A. Herter has made a unique contribution not only to American politics but also to American cultural history. While Herter's admission that the plane involved was gathering intelligence was prompted by a

THE PERFECT LOGIC (and it wasn't written in a nut-house):

"The United States, which devised and used the first atomic bomb, which maintains bases throughout the world, which blunders into a spy fiasco over Soviet territory, is in very deep reality dedicated to peace and to peace alone."

— Erwin D. Canham, Editor

The Christian Science Monitor
(In an editorial May 9, 1960,
also broadcast over the ABC network.)

new expediency rather than any moral scruples, his late predecessor, John Foster Dulles, would under no circumstances have compromised his sanctimonious pretensions. "Herter and his aides decided that Khrushchev had the United States so nailed down with voluminous details about the plane, its pilot and his mission, that the only thing to do was to admit the truth."² wrote the

¹"McCarthyism Before and After McCarthy."

²The Washington Post, May 9, 1960.

MITO THE "CLUB OF TRAITORS"

reliable reporter Chalmers M. Roberts. The admission, however, did not amount to a refutation of the implicit privilege the Administration is claiming, to mislead the public: what the public was finally told about the President's role in the plane incident was purely a matter of pragmatic prudence. "The implication (that the flight was not authorized in Washington) was allowed to stand for a more important reason (more important than the implication that also the dropping of a nuclear bomb could occur without authorization from Washington): It was just totally impossible to CONCEDE that the President could have had any information about such a flight." (capitals added)³

Before Khrushchev shrewdly maneuvered us into a forced reversal to "candor", he was called a "liar", our congressmen protested his "provocative slanders" and the press was quick to invoke the virtue of motherhood by reproducing the innocent looks and

avowals of our spy's family. Only then did Khrushchev blast us with the full impact of irrefutable facts.

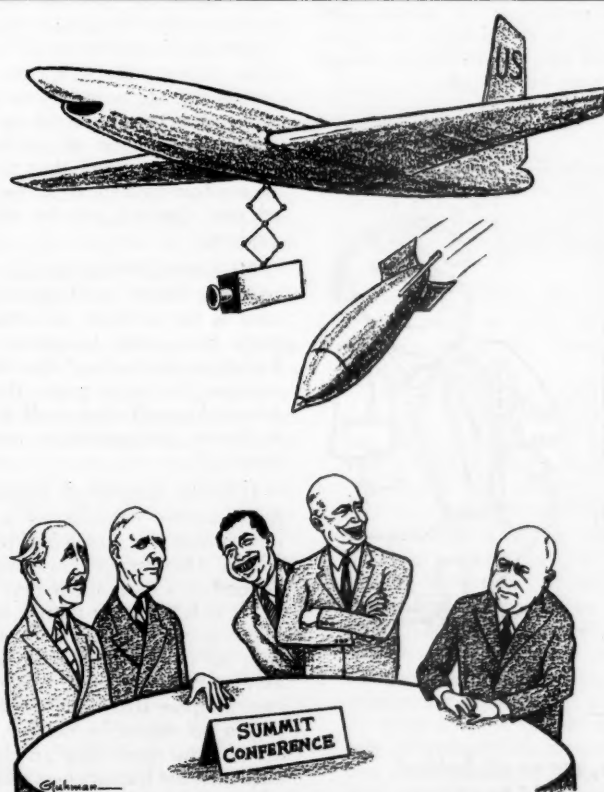
Potentially, the very incident that for the moment has confused us and caused us world-wide embarrassment may yet turn into a true national victory. It may teach the American individual that propaganda centrally disseminated from Washington may not replace his own uncorrupted deductions that do not stop at the threshold of the "unacceptable". If the process of awakening is not arrested by the powerful machinery of our mind manipulators, the American public may start posing many, until now "illegitimate", questions. Unfortunately, as might be expected, the confusion of our mind architects was very brief indeed. The echoes of the incident were still reverberating throughout the world as they undertook to mend the torn net in which they have been carrying around our brains. Recovering from momen-

tary embarrassment, they immediately started their counterattack: they did not blame our admitted intrusion into the Soviet Union but the Soviet Union's vocal reaction to it for trying to torpedo a long anticipated relaxation of international tensions. Still, perfidy cannot be expected to master perfect consistency, and more occasions will occur for its exposure. With each such blunder the process of awakening of our own public may gain momentum. Then we may start some intellectual pioneering of our own into the actual reasons for disarmament obstructionism, and there is no telling how many wide areas of perfidy and deceptive propaganda our minds, once put in motion, can expose. We may even raise ourselves above unquestioning moral classifications that consistently play favorites with ourselves and are equally consistent in their unfairness to others. "Up until now it has been possible to say to the world that what came out of the Kremlin was deceitful and untrustworthy but that people could depend on what they were told by the Government of the United States . . . it is going to be hard to convince people hereafter that explanations from Washington can be taken at their face value. . . . The difficulty is that we have told others and ourselves we are different. The image we have created before the world is that 'we don't do what the Russians do.' We don't engage in international provocation. We do tell honestly what is going on. And now the sad part is that this image, which has been one of the strengths of America, is now sullied by our own self-righteous zeal that led us to believe that, because we are opposed to wrong, anything we choose to do is right."⁴

We do not accuse the writer of the above quotation of plagiarizing from THE MINORITY OF ONE, but we do thank both Mr. Christian A. Herter and Mr. Nikita S. Khrushchev for making the revelation possible to him. As for ourselves, in view of the many "good American" flagwavers who believe our criticism qualifies us for jail, it is somewhat comforting to know that now, if we go there, we will be accompanied by the editor of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL. . . .

³ Ibid.

⁴ The Wall Street Journal, May 10, 1960.



"I always bring along a camera!"

Who Is "The People"?

Except when foreign occupation forces are ruling a country, each and every government claims to represent "the people". The need to disguise the oligarchic nature of any government even inspires foreign occupation forces to develop a system of native collaboration to "prove" that they too are speaking for "the people".

While to us speaking for "the people" seems to be an easily verifiable claim, in actuality our rationalizations are often just as artificial as those employed by people and systems we accuse of betraying democracy.

If speaking for "the people" means that decisions should reflect the consensus of a majority of those affected by them, then indeed such a system is absolutely impossible. The decisions made by or for a society may well affect not only those too young to voice an opinion, but also generations yet unborn.

In 1788, the leaders who drew their mandate from about 3,500,000 people adopted a constitution many hundreds of millions of succeeding American generations have had to live by. Even if the decision was unanimous, it is obvious that it was the decision of a small minority, considering all those who were affected by it. For "the people is also the stream of individuals, the connected generations of changing persons that Burke was talking about when he invoked the partnership 'not only between those who are living' but also with 'those who are dead, and those who are to be born.'"^{*} Burke's concern for the dead is superfluous here since past generations are quite irrevocably dead. But decisions may be more fateful to future generations than to the decision makers themselves.

Since a plurality of those affected by public decisions is, at a given time, often impossible and a plurality of voters may still be a people's minority, the claim that a "majority" decision of voters has a built-in justification has no social basis. As Walter Lippmann says: "Because of the discrepancy between The People as voters and The People as the corporate nation, the Voters have no title to consider themselves the proprietors of the commonwealth and to claim that their interests are identical with the public interest. A prevailing plurality of the voters are not The People. The claim that they are is a bogus title to justify the usurpation of the executive power by representative assemblies and the intimidation of public men by demagogic leaders. In fact demagoguery can be described as the sleight of hand by which a faction of The People as voters are invested with the authority of The People. That is why so many crimes are committed in the people's name."[†]

^{*}The Public Philosophy, Walter Lippmann, pub. by Little, Brown & Co., 1955, p. 35.

[†]Ibid., pp. 33-34.

Even if we could achieve the obviously impossible and poll all those affected by public policies, including generations yet unborn, there would be no assurance that a decision so derived would be a wise one. Short of such a referendum, decisions made by a majority of voters lose even the quantitative authoritativeness usually claimed for them.

All decisions made by a nation, irrelevant of the technique employed for making them, are, therefore, minority decisions. Whether they are right or wrong must be weighed by different criteria than the numbers of votes behind them, which in any case will reflect only a minority of The Nation.

Democracy, therefore, cannot substitute a decision making procedure for the ethical and social values involved in the decision. No matter how large the plurality of voters that support a war of territorial or economic aggrandizement, the adventure would remain unethical. To prevent such an adventure, often a minority of voters must curb the will of the majority. That minority of voters, having in actuality saved the nation from either disastrous long-range consequences or an immoral action, may historically prove to have acted for the majority of The Nation. In the late thirties and in the early forties Hitler's attacks on other nations were supported by a majority of Germans. But Germans in the fifties and in the sixties are still enduring the consequences of his actions, and had there been, in the thirties, a way of consulting them too, the decision to attack might never have been made.



"Yes sir, we're all behind you, old boy!"

The pluralistic incongruities of democracy offer themselves for many contradictory conceptions. As against our own identification of democracy and the plebiscite, the communist "dictatorship of the proletariat" claims no license to act against the wishes of the majority of the nation. Rather it claims its mandate derives from an eventual majority within the society it undertakes to reform and after the process of reformation will be completed. The East-European regimes, which obviously do not command the support of their present populations, similarly believe they act in the name of a future majority.

Such claims are in themselves not necessarily wrong. Their justification does not necessarily depend on the technique used by these regimes to make their decisions appear to emerge from a broad population base. Whether or not it will eventually be proved that they acted in the name of the nation (comprising affected future generations) won't ever be known to us. As it is impossible to make a truly national decision within one generation, so it is impossible to prophesy the decisions of future generations.

These limitations clearly point to the necessity of weighing each public problem on its social and ethical merits rather than on the numbers of people favoring one course of action or another.

Resolutions about which nothing can be said but that they are supported by a great number of people equal resolutions about which nothing at all can be said. In this respect, the frequent demands for plebiscites are merely demagogic maneuvers rather than sincere attempts to put issues to the test of merit. When, for instance, we suggest that the Berlin crisis be resolved by a local plebiscite, the merits of our demand are by no means self-evident.

No procedure has intrinsic safety devices to insure justice and humaneness. Democracy is not a mere procedure because a truly democratic procedure is impossible. Unless we understand that democracy has contents, it is no more than an empty phraseology offering itself for many contradictory interpretations and rationalizations.

It is the tragedy of democracy that so many people conceive of it merely as a mechanism for resolving public controversies. Democracy's continuance may well depend on a more intelligent perception of it. If it is no more than a system of consensus taking without contents, any ideology, no matter how false or demagogic, may well fill the void. And were democracy no more than that, there would be no reason to regret its decline. Those who ask of it no more than an electoral procedure miss the humaneness that real democracy represents.

GAPS AND BRIDGES

Dividing people into "good" and "bad" not only sows misunderstanding but is also psychologically wrong. "Good" and "bad" not only dwell in the vicinity of each other; often they are the twin offspring of the same parents.

Human motivations are less ambiguous than the actions they lead to. Even when an individual's motives are quite discernible, what they will lead him to do remains quite unpredictable.

Individuals who act in completely contradictory ways may still be prompted by the same basic desires. The discrepancy between the saint and the villain is often social rather than psychological. The very same thing motivates the former to piety, the latter to acts of evil. People are not basically different, only their actions are. When a man acts under a certain compulsion or inspiration, it is difficult to say whether his action will turn out social or anti-social. Two men may share a desire to distinguish themselves: the one attempts to achieve this through intellectual pursuits or "selfless" charity, the other through injuring society. Whether one chooses the one way or the other often depends on mere coincidence. Perhaps at a crucial point he will come under the influence of someone who imbues him with piety. His counterpart might be less fortunate; at a crucial point he might come under the influence of a professional criminal.

The plurality of possible responses to single motivations makes the human soul an eternal puzzle. There used to be a notion that children of broken homes are poor marriage material. But in actuality, there is no telling how this might affect an individual; either he may follow the pattern of his parents or, as a reaction to their resented experience, he may become the most compatible marriage partner.

That is why psychology is not an empiric science and psychoanalysis remains an art of guessing. The psychoanalyst spins a credible theory to explain the individual's acts and behavior. But at best his credible theory is just one of a number of believable theories. The diagnoses of psychoanalysts are known only rarely to coincide. The difference between the psychoanalyst and the novelist is that the latter is right as soon as he creates a believable character. Even if such a character never really existed, mere believability endows him with a literary equivalent of reality. The psychoanalyst's task is more specific; the character he theoretically conceives of must fit a specific living human being. Still, after accumulating all personal data about the individual,

the psychoanalyst can achieve no more authenticity than a mere theory might provide. A theory of the possible is not necessarily an explanation of the real. Once a possible and believable theory is created by the psychoanalyst, he is left with no means for separating the actual from the possible. His intelligent guesswork done, he cannot put it to a scientific test for confirmation or refutation. Intuition is the scientist's point of departure but the psychoanalyst's final point of achievement.

It is good that man remains unpredictable. Were psychology ever to develop into a strict science, life would lose much meaning, fascination and content. We could still perform our social functions, but man would add up to little more than a very sophisticated robot. In fact, the unjustified professionalization of psychology, as if it were a totally applicable science on a par with medicine, has a share in our generation's disillusionment with human values. Although Freud understood about the human soul certainly not more than a Victor Hugo, the shaping of his understanding into a semi- or pseudo-scientific discipline gave man a feeling of carrying a switchboard around in his head rather than a mystery of thinking and feeling. This was the more injurious because it was mistaken; neither Freud nor his disciples or deviationists deprived man's mind of its mystery. But still they did create a mistaken

will affect the individual's mind and actions is claimed to be known to psychological determinists, but in actuality psychological determinism is still awaiting the relativization Kant introduced into philosophy through his "categories".

While man fears the encounter with others he still seeks it. Whether this encounter is prompted by a sexual urge or by a compulsion to achieve social goals, it involves other human beings. Man cannot be alone, yet he fears the encounter with others, because in that encounter his inadequacy may be proved. These conflicting feelings created the family as the individual's institutionalized encounter with others. The family provides the opportunity to socialize, and being permanent, becomes sufficiently familiar not to be dreaded. Man loves his family not because he believes his family to be worthiest of love, but because it combats his loneliness and poses no threat of the unknown.

"Familiarity breeds contempt" not because there are no values in others one could enduringly respect, but because in man's fear of the unfamiliar he mentally reduces his surroundings to a common denominator in a desperate attempt to deprive them of anything strange to him.

A virtuous, puritanic boundary between heaven and hell, between "sin" and "purity", between "good" and "bad" and between "good" men and "bad" men tends to perpetuate man's

"The pursuit of truth, when it is whole-hearted, must ignore moral considerations; we cannot know in advance that the truth will turn out to be what is thought edifying in a given society."

— Bertrand Russell

delusion of having done it, of having figured out, or being on the way to figuring out, all the screws and switches of man's mind.

The question of what man's basic impulses are was raised by Freud not for the first but for the millionth time. It is as old as man's thinking.

Whether we accept Freud's theory that finds man's psychological determiners in biological factors such as instincts, or Adler's theory of goal-directed subjective factors of the mind or Jung's emphasis on the will to live, each of these factors results in man's fear. Whether his insecurity stems from a fear of sexual inadequacy, from an apprehension of not being able to socialize or from a mere fear of not surviving, the individual finds himself in a perpetual self-comparison with others. What this comparison will result in, how it

inability to raise his ethical standards rather than to elevate society. It creates an unbridgeable gap among men; who is found on the one side of the gap and who is on the other does not depend on any objective facts but on man's self-justifying point of view. He conceives of himself as personifying virtue as an act of personal intellectual favoritism; every man he fears, resents or clashes with is perfunctorily pushed over his moral demarcation line. That is why it is so essential that man appreciates the common genesis of "good" and "bad". Perhaps then it will be less humiliating for him to discover within himself seeds of evil and within his antagonist—seeds of virtue. When the discovery is made, he might even want to shake hands and then be pleasantly surprised that the other man's hand also has five fingers. . . .

What Are We Doing To Ourselves?!

How does our single-minded and self-righteous involvement in the cold war affect us? How do years of entertaining bitterness and hatred in our hearts affect our minds, our capacity for being happy and our mental equilibrium?

The saddest psychological aspect of the spyplane affair is one that has nothing to do with our encounter with the Soviets. From President Eisenhower on down there seems to be not a single person in America who believes our action to have been legal or moral. Yet, the last thing we were willing to do was to unequivocally apologize. All our intellectual efforts were instead directed towards finding something to say other than we were wrong. A doctrine is being promoted that construes an admitted wrong to be right. When someone else is wrong he is wrong, but when we are wrong we are still right.

This philosophy should make us wonder what we are doing to ourselves while so stubbornly fighting others. The bitterness of our opposition to our political opponent is confusing our very ability for rational thinking. We are replacing sound logical deductions by mental processes that properly belong to the field of psychopathological inquiry.

This mental perversion originates as a resolution of conscience. Living in a country and being part of it, having one's own fate interwoven into its fate, one is prone to misconstrue loyalty. Criticizing the ways and habits of your own country and in specific conflicts even siding with its adversaries is bound to turn you into a social outcast, at times even undermine your own self-confidence. Perhaps indeed you are not acquitting yourself of the obligations you owe to your society? Perhaps you are indeed treasonous, unworthy of whatever your society provides for you?

Yet, if clinging to the truth, pursuing justice, generosity and good will can ever be treasonous, then such treason is a virtue that must never be compromised. Any loyalty that is predicated on falsehood and expediency involves a disloyalty towards values greater than whatever the misplaced loyalty set out to serve.

In actuality, a true discord between loyalty to a country and loyalty to mankind is impossible. Fairness to others, treating them as one wishes to be treated will boomerang as surely as injustice and lack of consideration. Did Hitler's cohorts serve the German people? And didn't his domestic, "unpatriotic" opponents prove historically to have been the true German patriots? Enlightened self-interest is not an abstract dream of a romantic visionary but a down-to-earth realistic conclusion derived from history.

When we commit the mental acrobatics of believing ourselves right even though we know we are wrong, the damage we

"Let us believe that the whole of truth can never do harm to the whole of virtue; and remember that in order to get the whole of truth you must allow every man, right or wrong, freely to utter his conscience, and protect him in so doing."

— Wendell Phillips

cause to ourselves is vastly greater than that to the opponent. The effectiveness of such opposition may be quite limited and will certainly not endure. But the damage afflicted to ourselves is quite permanent and will haunt us in ways that have nothing to do with the occasion for which the *method of insanity* was originally devised. The opponent may well recuperate from our tactical blow, but will our minds that strayed from reason's path also recuperate?

What is so terribly disturbing about this attitude is not our capacity for self-righteousness. A person can be perfectly honest in his intentions and conscious judgment and yet display unconscious favoritism towards himself and his interests. In fact, no saint can ever be positive that he has completely subdued this rather natural inclination within himself. But our own selfishness seems to have reached more totally corrupting dimensions: we have the capacity of knowing ourselves to be wrong and simultaneously knowing ourselves to be right. It is a schizophrenic invention whose contradictions complement rather than eliminate each other.

Of course, the tactical use of insanity as the chief weapon of modern propaganda did not start with the spyplane incident. Had we not been afflicted with it for a long time, the nightmare of McCarthyism would not have been possible. Our real training grounds for the schizophrenic double standard that uniquely displays a "coherent" singularity are so multiple that one cannot undertake to analyze them in the incidental manner of a digression. We can cite only a few manifestations that parallel our "Our President Right or Wrong!"

When a television or radio announcer "appears" in our living room to tell us that his product is "two and a half times BETTER" (better than what?), who does not recognize the man's absolute incoherence? Yet, we have allowed that man to take over a scarce national rostrum as if he had an important public message to convey. At the very least he owes such a great audience coherence. Furthermore, who of his listeners does not know the true reason that motivates the incoherent announcer? We all know he does it in return for and in order to collect a hand-

some honorarium without any concern for his product—good, "better", excellent or bad. Yet, we let him appear and talk as if all this were not so, as if the lie were true, and as if his only concern were to serve our personal welfare.

This "singular" schizophrenia pervades each and every aspect of our life. Our news dispatches do not hesitate to inform us about the "strategy" meetings of our candidates for public office. They candidly report how "tactics" are devised to tell the electorate whatever it wishes to hear. Then, with this perfect knowledge, we listen to office contenders as if their words conveyed their principled, incorruptible and genuine convictions.

Or, even the most naive among us knows that the newspaper he reads was printed because somewhere there is an investor who believes the newspaper business offers him the highest available dividends. Then we read that man's, or his hirelings', editorials as if their writing had been motivated by nothing but the pursuit of public interest.

Or, who among us is so naive as not to know that bills are passed or tabled in Congress depending on the encounter between selfishly interested parties? Yet, while knowing this we also seem to know that our legislators represent nobody but us, the general public.

Or, we may be perfectly aware that our own reluctance prevents a nuclear ban and disarmament, but with equal sincerity we blame the Soviets at the same time.

All these instances reflect that peculiar quality that George Orwell called *doublethink*. Doublethink is a new kind of insanity that we embrace, not in helpless despair, but voluntarily. During brief flashes of sanity we are not saddened by our affliction; we remain happy, enthusiastic and proud. Our closest relatives and best friends are not concerned about our affliction but despair of anyone who remains immune to this particular insanity. And best of all, they tell us that our insanity serves ourselves and our children, posterity, the nation and its pride.

One can only raise his hands and cry out: **STOP AND SEE WHAT WE ARE DOING TO OURSELVES!**

WAR IS POSSIBLE!

(Continued from page 1)

most horrendous war in history, there will be no interim-time to reflect, to call the governments' lie and hold them responsible and finally to avert a holocaust. If and when war comes, it will come with such sudden and fatal irrevocableness that all judgments will have to be left to history or to a post-war tribunal against war-criminals, set up not necessarily by the righteous but by the victors if any, whoever they are.

The mere promotion of the legend that war is impossible is, therefore, a contribution to the eventual outbreak of war. Unless the government that is spreading the legend is actually ready to demonstrate its sincerity by getting rid of the tools for which there would be no need or use were war impossible, it would be foolish to believe in it.

That disarmament talks have become a device for marking time rather than an honest effort may well reflect the prevailing armament stalemate. Relying on such a stalemate to prevent war would again be deceptive; historically, military stalemates are at best temporary. Sooner or later one party or another will gain at least a temporary advantage and then try to capitalize on it before the antagonist catches up. Those circles who oppose a nuclear ban in this country self-professedly "justify" their position with "hopes" of developing still more sophisticated and effective weapons. American obstructionism towards disarmament and a nuclear ban is nothing but a "hope" of breaking the prevailing military stalemate and then, in the positive belief that war is no longer "impossible", leaping on the political antagonist.

How this generalization is reflected in concrete governmental schemes and plans cannot be generally known; the most fateful question of war or peace is decided on the basis of data unavailable to the public. Our maneuvering in the Geneva disarmament talks may well result from a scientific breakthrough that, when concretely applied, will offer an "alternative" to peaceful accommodation with the Soviets. Whatever the specific secret reasons for the prevailing procrastination, it is nonsense to assume we are spending forty billion dollars annually on weapons we know will never be used. It also is nonsense to assume that disarmament is not being agreed to and acted upon in spite of intentions. The sole reason for not achieving disarmament is reluctance to achieve it.

* * *

In Secretary of State Christian A. Herter's statement admitting the true nature of the recent plane incident, one paragraph escaped the attention of a press preoccupied with the plane incident itself. It reads: "For several years we have been seeking the mutual abolition of the restrictions on travel imposed by the Soviet Union and those

which the United States felt obliged to institute on a reciprocal basis." Mr. Herter seems to have confused the double bookkeeping of our Government: he seems to have forgotten that we have always maintained our proposals for international agreements sought nothing but a relaxation of international tensions, while Soviet diplomats often attacked our proposals as mere pretexts for the penetration of Soviet state secrets. Now Mr. Herter attempts to "justify" our reconnaissance flights by pointing to the Soviet rejection of our diplomatic proposals, and unwittingly gives added credence to Soviet accusations that our emphasis on inspection with regard to disarmament and a nuclear ban amounts to "inspection without disarmament".

"There Was Never a Good War,
or a Bad Peace."

— Benjamin Franklin

The political significance of the recent instance of territorial intrusion, generally misconstrued as an ordinary case of espionage, is not confined to its timing. This was truly an event that was acted out at the summit of the respective national authorities. Chairman Khrushchev admitted to personally ordering the plane to be shot down. As to President Eisenhower, there seems to exist an implicit international agreement not to implicate him personally. In the hope of saving the summit conference both Khrushchev and world public opinion decided to pretend they believed in the impossible: that the physical injury to Soviet sovereignty, only days before the scheduled summit meeting, was carried out without the President's personal authorization. No sophisticated political observer can "buy" this fairy tale.

Absolving President Eisenhower of personal responsibility for the plane incident may be diplomatically expedient but, to understand the seriousness of the prevailing international situation, one must totally disregard it. The true importance of the plane incident lies in its intended political impact. The only conceivable motivations for both steps were:

1. To arrest the seeming relaxation of international tensions;
2. To diminish the prospects of the summit conference, either through making it impossible or through prejudicing its results;
3. To test Soviet reaction with the view of establishing whether Soviet eagerness for an international accommodation goes so far as to ignore an abuse of its territorial sovereignty, and if so, to capitalize on that eagerness to

the point of extracting one-sided concessions.

Whatever part or combination of these intentions prompted the air intrusion, our Government has once more demonstrated that it is not "resigned" to the proposition that there is "no alternative to peace". Rather it seems to be on a desperate search for such an "alternative".

Khrushchev's advent to power represented a new venture in Soviet foreign policy. Its consistent conciliatory tendency in recent years was most concretely manifested in the withdrawal of Soviet forces from Austria. Soviet concessions with regard to nuclear ban inspection were so far-reaching that on occasion they took Western diplomats by surprise.

This accommodativeness, however, will be pursued only as long as the Soviet leadership can entertain a hope of eventually being met half way by the West. It is, therefore, up to the West, and specifically the United States, to justify or refute Soviet conciliatory diplomacy.

If we keep refuting it, either Khrushchev himself will have to recognize the futility of his attempts or his position in the Soviet hierarchy will become untenable and he will be succeeded by a Soviet version of our own Senator Clinton P. Anderson.

Khrushchev's conciliatory diplomacy has so few concrete achievements to show that the intrusion of an American spyplane into Soviet airspace may well provide the turning point in Soviet foreign policy. If this happens, not the Soviet but our own Government will have caused it. We will have destroyed the accommodative alternative in Soviet diplomacy.

Under the prevailing conditions the summit conference has turned into a fantastic fraud upon world public opinion. Our leaders have reluctantly agreed to it as a concession to determined demands on the part of people everywhere. Now, they stand exposed as having perpetrated a deceptive maneuver to prejudice chances of establishing an enduring peace at the summit.

There is no remedial step except for public opinion, which extracted a seeming concession from our leaders, to demonstrate its awareness of the fraud. If the people want to survive, they must take the initiative and display an utter intolerance for diplomatic scheming. From the Atlantic to the Pacific the compelling cry must be heard: **DISARMAMENT NOW THROUGH KNOCKING OUT OUR MILITARY BUDGET!**

That the people themselves will display the necessary sophistication, concern and acumen is by no means a foregone conclusion. But at no time in history has the penalty for omission been as immediate and fatal as it is now, if the citizenry fails to make itself worthy of survival by acting for it.

May 10, 1960

The Right To Work

True American reformism could start with the adoption of a single piece of legislation that would suffice to introduce far-reaching changes not only in the economy of the nation but in its sense of values as well. It would be a measure recognizing man's RIGHT to work.* In contrast to the laws of most other civilized nations, ours offer hardly any job protection. In our economy the employer is considered the proprietor of all the jobs he has to offer. He may administer them as he pleases; he may hire and fire without accounting to anyone for doing so. The law of many other countries recognizes the reciprocity of engagement between employer and employee. It conceives of the act of hiring as assuming an obligation that may not be arbitrarily severed. Such an approach reflects an elementary degree of social responsibility: a man engaging another man for gainful employment assumes a heavy moral responsibility not only to pay the latter for services performed but also to do his best to provide him with continuing job opportunity. Otherwise the employee's readiness to perform the services needed by the employer would remain unmatched by a responding obligation on the latter's part; the dependence between the two would be totally one-sided.

The law of many lands protects jobs by limiting the employer's right to sever his relationship with the employee. Arbitrary firing is forbidden. An employer must be able to justify firing an employee on such grounds as gross negligence or incompetence, dishonesty or job liquidation. In most cases when the firing is found to be justified on grounds not attributable to the employee, he is still entitled to reparations. In many countries they will amount to a month's severance pay for each year of employment.

In the United States such job protection is left to the initiative of trade unions and the limitations are obvious: first, it is not exercised for the benefit of non-unionized employees; second, it depends on the negotiative effectiveness of the union; and third, the fate of the individual employee depends on the union's readiness to align itself behind him.

WHAT IS THE RIGHT TO WORK?

What would right-to-work legislation establish, and why would it be a basic measure that could reform certain fundamental wrongs in our society?

Some people are prone to confuse the individual's right to work with his right to be sustained by society. But there is a vast difference between the two. The latter might actually deprive man of incentives to produce, since laziness would not be punishable by deprivation. The right to work, however, would not automatically grant him an income. This would still be commensurate to his work. All it would actually guarantee would be organized society's responsibility for making gainful employment available to its citizens. How the government would go about it is a subject requiring separate treatment, and a number of alternatives is available. The government could, for instance, stimulate the economy with the view of achieving full em-

* It is unfortunate that a term reflecting a desperate social need has been misappropriated as a manipulative misnomer for legislation intended to curtail labor's rights. The linguistic perversion of this term by anti-labor forces should not be allowed to color its use here. In this context "the right to work" should be taken at its face value.

ployment. Or, rather than interfere with the economy, it could carry on its payroll unemployed people who are still willing to work. Supporting the unemployed with federal funds drawn from a system of progressive taxes would tend to cancel out industry's stake in an unemployed labor reservoir. Industry could either productively absorb the labor force or maintain the self-defeating scheme of a labor reservoir unproductively supported by it through tax increases.

The basic innovation would be government's responsibility for providing a man with the opportunity of gainful work.

THE OVER-INCENTED ECONOMY

Such a reform would tend to decrease the incentives now existing in our economy; but this would be one of its main purposes. Not all incentives and not all human exertion are assets to society or the individual. Were it not so we would have never passed laws limiting the number of business or working hours. We would let the worker labor as many hours as he pleased and we would keep our factories, stores and offices open around the clock. And if such unlimited exertion increased someone's income, he would still lose other assets that account for happiness and self-fulfillment.

But even without going into the extreme of around the clock production our society is definitely over-stimulated. When your child is gobbling his food, you stop him with "Don't eat like an animal!" Why not? Why not eat like an animal, especially when the food is tasty and satisfying? Obviously, for the sake of such a relatively small consideration as manners, the cultivated individual is ready to curb his appetite and natural inclination. Yet, when it comes to a wider range of consumption—that of exerting oneself for the sake of an income—we quickly forget the "Don't eat like an animal!" and are sold on the idea that nothing but incentives should regulate us.

Chances are that the grocer sitting at your table and hearing you reprimand your child would not be too happy. He is interested in selling his merchandise and the little gobbler helps him. Any trafficker in goods is interested in volume, and if he can increase it by giving you indigestion, he will also be ready to sell you an alkalizer.

What accounts for the insatiableness so typical of the individual in the American economy? What makes him struggle so hard to achieve more and more in material goods? Why doesn't he get off the treadmill and relax somewhat after securing a relatively comfortable life? In short, what makes our society so terribly money mad?

Of course, there are many factors inherent in human psychology—such as the desire to prove oneself, to gain power, influence, recognition and prestige. But those motivations are universal—they are not confined to American society. Yet, American acquisitiveness is so much stronger than that of any other society. What then is the specifically American factor that accounts for the specifically American degree of acquisitiveness?



THE MOTIVE OF INSECURITY

I believe the answer lies in the economic insecurity afflicting the American individual, irrelevant of his immediate economic situation. If he is a wage earner, even if his wages enable him to maintain a relatively high standard of life, he is worried about what tomorrow will bring. Will he still have his job? Will his income be the same as it was? Will it rise in proportion to the increasing prices of goods? Will he have any income at all? These worries are not confined to the worker and wage earner. Even the most prosperous businessman keeps worrying lest his seven years of plenty be followed by seven lean years. What will he do in case of a recession? Or, what will he do if the economy booms so fast that his business will be all but eliminated by competition with more capital? And if he is a real big operator, one who no longer fears competition, he might well fall from the economic summit overnight in case of a shift in the economy. Didn't he see it happen in his lifetime? Didn't he see railroad magnates go broke?! With no assurance of a minimum, everyone exerts himself to obtain the maximum. And so, while the going is good, keep going, keep striving, keep adding those dollars—tomorrow the world may be different!

THE HUNGRY MILLIONAIRE

I sincerely believe that many a multimillionaire never stops working for mere bread and butter, and possibly for bread alone. True, he has enough capital to purchase the total output of all the bakeries in the world; but living on the volcano of the American economy he is never sure a day might not come when he couldn't buy a single loaf of bread. This insecurity accounts for his financial insatiableness: through the sheer accumulation of wealth he is attempting to diminish the chance of experiencing total deprivation. As if he were preparing himself for the most catastrophic inflation, as if with each added million he were making more certain that he will be able to afford bread for all his days on earth.

Since no security is ever obtainable within our economic relationships, irrelevant of the standard of living one would settle for, the mad pursuit of money as a security substitute never ceases.

This unending acquisitiveness accounts for many afflictions to our individual and society; with all the accumulation of wealth, we are far from being the happiest of people and there is a whole classic literature depicting the misery of our riches.

The vain pursuit of unobtainable security through material acquisitiveness deprives us of the relaxation so necessary to other than material development. We are so busy with material accumulation that we have neither the time nor the concern for anything but promoting either our financial security or the illusion of it. Furthermore, since material acquisitiveness responds to the basic urge for security, anything pertaining to it becomes all important and all-exclusive. Other considerations and concerns, however worthwhile in themselves, are submerged in the bare fight for elementary necessities, a thousand days, a thousand weeks, a thousand months hence.

THE PSYCHOLOGICAL HUNGER

A certain degree of deprivation precludes man's cultural development. Hunger is neither virtue nor does it lead to virtue. The hungry man can think of nothing but food. To obtain it he is not inclined to develop a spiritual sense of values; rather he will do anything that will relieve his suffering. Culture and ethics are luxuries the hungry man can ill afford. Even if man's mind is sufficiently sophisticated to conceive of their existence, they will occur to him as irrelevant to the overwhelming problem of securing elementary necessities. At best he will be inclined not to embrace but rather to use civilized and cultured concepts to satisfy his elementary urge for physical satisfaction. All other alternatives will seem to him impractical, illusory, childish. The hungry man is of necessity a cynic.

While we in the United States may be the most abundantly fed people on earth, psychologically we seem to be the hungriest. That our hunger is mostly not actual but only a fear of hunger looming somewhere in the future makes little difference. It betokens us that in contrast to the rest of the world our social gatherings never lack for food. Whether it is a political, cultural, religious or social event, the serving of refreshments is practically a must. One could simply argue that, unlike many other peoples, we can afford to be generous with food; but the availability of food does not stretch our quite satisfied stomachs. What does stretch them is our mental hunger. Watching the behavior of American children (and often American adults as well) while food is being served at a religious or social gathering, one cannot help but compare it with the cultured self-restraint to be observed on similar occasions in other countries, often among people living in severe austerity. What is it that makes the American child (and often also adult) thoughtlessly grab food from the table at a church social? Certainly, not hunger. What then compromises his table manners to a degree not found in children in other countries, where a social gathering may well offer an opportunity to get an otherwise unavailable meal?—I am inclined to ascribe this to a lack of other concerns, pre-occupations and content. Living in a spiritual and cultural void, physical sensation becomes the all-inclusive relationship with our surroundings. Nothing else matters, because nothing else exists as a true, impelling force. Basically, this is the psychology of the hungry; whether the hunger is real or anticipated seems to change nothing.

Hungry people cannot believe that there is something more to life than satisfying hunger. Whatever the hungry man does is calculated ultimately to satisfy his hunger. Since the acute feeling of insecurity that accompanies our possessiveness imposes upon us the psychology of the hungry, material acquisitiveness overshadows all other activities. Anything that does not satisfy the urge for material acquisition either becomes unimportant or is denied integrity by being made into an agent of material acquisitiveness. We seem to believe our well-being is in direct proportion to the number of gadgets we possess, while the importance of spiritual and cultural endeavors depends on the degree to which they can be ultimately turned into commodities. They are an ax to grind.

SENSE OF VALUES

All this could be significantly changed were the American individual relieved of his continuous fear of deprivation, which is well justified by the economic cataclysms of our system. With adequate protection against possible future hunger, he could afford to cultivate the non-material luxuries of life. Material acquisition would no longer be the sole, overwhelming consideration; rather he would weigh it against other than material sacrifices involved in his economic exertion. Man is capable of fantastic efforts to secure his bread, but once his bread is secured he will not invest an equal effort in anything else unless it serves to secure his future bread.

Admitting this might well be construed by the proponents of our present economic system as a loss of the argument. They will argue the effectiveness of the prevailing system by pointing to the volume of the resulting product. The problem, however, lies in our extremely one-sided national product: we produce many cars but little happiness, we stimulate consumption but also nourish expediency and hypocrisy. Our material abundance seems predicated on spiritual and cultural depravity. While this situation gives us the illusion of unmatched achievement, history's verdict will be quite different. For history seems to be regulated by a sense of justice, not contemporaneously discernible, that defines society in terms of the real elevation and improvement of the individual rather than the motor boat he tows behind his car. Never before has this generalization been as acutely true as it is in our own time. Because now, on the quality of our individual depends whether we

THE WAY WE SEE IT

WHEN A NON-DRIVER IS GETTING A SPEEDING TICKET . . .

I should be the last one to pass judgment on Jimmy Hoffa, because whenever I see a newspaper dispatch carrying his name in its headline I refuse to read it. Not that I can't conceive Jimmy Hoffa to be a corrupt individual, but I can also conceive Jimmy Hoffa to be the most honest man ever. Between these two alternatives, the American press, all its "factual" accounts notwithstanding, can be of no help to me whatever. In fact, the less I read on the subject of Hoffa in our newspapers, the better my chance of forming an uncorrupted opinion.

Because several things not related to Hoffa's true ethics are obvious:

1. The American plutocracy and its mouthpiece, the press, are out "to get" Hoffa no matter what;
2. The American plutocracy and its mouthpiece, the press, would be out "to get" Hoffa even if *they* themselves were convinced of the man's complete honesty;
3. The man Hoffa, honest or dishonest, is of no interest to them except as a means of "taming" labor;
4. While I have no doubt that finally

these powerful interests will succeed in "getting" Hoffa, whether or not the man is dishonest, the mere fact that it is taking them so long to achieve their end (a procedural upset exceeded only by that of Caryl Chessman) testifies that here is a man who is not easily impeachable.

THE ROMANTIC CRO

Stop and reflect about Korea and its golfing "tremendous patriot", to quote our own tremendous patriot of the golf course:

Our conscience vis-a-vis Korea is unimpeachable: not only have we poured American lives and money into "protecting" its people's freedom and democracy a la Syngman Rhee, but when the counter-tide became uncontrollable, we transmogrified overnight a la Christine Jorgensen and found ourselves marching amidst the Korean students. This was all to the good: our performance has been more realistic than it was with Chiang Kai-shek, whom we unfortunately forgot to shake off our back.

And although Syngman Rhee was more unscrupulous though less successful than his American counterpart in hand-picking his successor, when Lee Ki-Poong suc-

cumbed to the justice of his embarrassed son's pistol, we remained faithful to the forsaken friend's memory if not his fate. With the help of the American press a piquant legend has been created, "editing" the event into a melodramatic suicidal narrative. Even in their death we remain faithful to tyrants—provided they are "democratic".

On May 2, 1960,
In the Penitentiary
at San Quentin, California
at 10:12 a.m.
After Twelve Years of Scruples
a Generation's Mercy
and Generosity Were Proved
Non-Existent
To the Deep Sorrow
of Humane Humans Everywhere.

will muster the honesty, the sincerity and the justice necessary not only to reform whatever needs reforming but also to avert nuclear suicide.

The fate of mankind depends, in the final analysis, not on its political leaders but on the psychological heights it will achieve. People inspired by altruism and universal fairness will no longer offer themselves as passive pawns to reckless and unscrupulous rulers. Altruism, fairness and compassion are not bought with dollars, nor are they bonuses that come with motorboats and Cadillacs. Anyone who conceives of such "abstract" values as exercises in romanticism is hopelessly unrealistic; and unfortunately, when his delusions are proved to have been delusions, he will not be around to hear it nor will we be around to tell him. The true challenge Communism poses to our system of social organization lies not in those respects in which Communism is wrong, but in those in which it might provide true and correct answers to man's problems. No matter how much force will be accumulated behind the oppressive, totalitarian components of Communism, in the long, historic run they pose no real danger—they will disintegrate; but if Communism should truly eliminate the sufferings we have been unwilling to alleviate, it will triumph regardless of our temporary resistance. The true challenge, therefore, is not to be stronger than Communism—but juster, fairer and more humane.

BALANCED ASPIRATIONS

When the American individual discovers that his right to work is guaranteed to him, his true aspirations will come into play. He will exert himself for material goods to the degree that they are important to him, while reserving much of his personality and energy for other values. No longer afraid of lacking the bare necessities, his life will become more humane, his pursuits, tastes and preferences more wholesome and balanced. With his bread secured he will be able to indulge in those cultural and ethical "luxuries" for which he now has neither the time nor the inclination.

Will he become lazy and parasitic?—Not in the least, because having an opportunity to work is not identical with being supported. Not his wages, but his right to work for wages will be guaranteed him. Actually, he will become more ambitious than he is now. No longer motivated by potential hunger, he will be truer to himself, identifying himself more personally with his bread-winning work instead of treating it with the detached opportunism of the money maker. No longer will he accept any opportunity to sustain himself; rather he will seek a harmony between his person and his work. The incentive for relative exertion will be there, since promotion will depend on exertion in a field that he chose intelligently according to his inclination and talent rather than under pressure of hunger. But somewhere the material incentive will stop. Since he will no longer run the risk of not having the means to subsist, whether now or in the future, he will reach a point of material satisfaction beyond which he will not be ready to sell his additional time and labor. Rather he will reserve them for "luxuries" of the non-material kind.

Such a development will reveal life in its full complexity to the American individual. The de-emphasis of the material aspect will introduce him to certain humane concepts for which he presently lacks full appreciation: he will learn that man's achievement and self-fulfillment can only partly be measured in dollars. Discovering this, he will also be less subject to the overwhelming influence American business exercises over the non-business aspects of life. He will seek more genuineness and sincerity, appreciating that not everything in society exists to promote business.

Because of these far-reaching indirect consequences of legislation establishing man's right to work, such legislation would be most vigorously opposed by our power elite. It would require unusual determination on the part of the general public to force the measure upon our plutocracy. The blessings won would, however, be in direct proportion to the efforts invested: the defeat of the plutocracy on this issue would be so fundamental that in itself it would amount to a curtailment of its dictatorial position in American life.

CHOOSING ONE'S SNOBBISHNESS

President Eisenhower's "explanation", during a recent press conference, that he decided not to reappoint Commissioner William R. Connole to the Federal Power Commission because he "can get a better man" was a tactless deviation from his self-professed and usually adhered to principle of not indulging in personalities. That he did reappoint the FPC Chairman, Jerome Kuykendall, a man compromised for accepting the hospitality-traveling-entertainment brand of payola, adds weight to the widely circulated feeling that all Mr. Eisenhower had against Mr. Connole was the Commissioner's lonely defense of consumer interests against the gas companies, some of which are owned by the President's card and golf companions.

Mr. Eisenhower's "private" life seems to affect his office to such a degree that even his strictly social preferences are of national consequence. That in his social life as well as his Cabinet he surrounds himself almost without exception with men of wealth may well reflect the former officer's awe, tantamount to an inferiority complex, towards those men. He can draw his personal friends from 180 million potential contenders almost all of whom would consider it a unique privilege to get his encouragement. If he looked up to intellect, he could surround himself with men of intellect. Were he fascinated by arts and letters, his entourage would include writers and musicians, artists, ballerinas and opera stars. But the notoriety of heavy money in Eisenhower's official as well as personal circle reveals his particular fascination, awe, sense of values and possibly even his hidden feeling of personal inadequacy: by becoming buddy-buddy with millionaires he may be compensating for his own unachieved but principal aspiration.

Putting psychology aside, one cannot escape the conclusion, that in the world of politics, corruption becomes intolerable only as a means of defeating an opponent. Eisenhower, who was carried into the White House to sweep out "twenty years of corruption" (and treason), is taking such a consistently amiable view of his own home-bred corruption and corruptors that his saintly condemnations of payola are a cynical farce. From Sherman Adams to the recent reappointments of commissioners to regulatory agencies he is displaying a consistent disregard for integrity that is hardly surprising when one considers the kind of mentality he has willfully exposed himself to. As the old saying goes: "If you want to know me, meet my friends."

"My country is the world, and
my religion is to do good."

— Thomas Paine

An Open Letter To The...

Collector of Internal Revenue
U. S. Treasury Department
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

I cannot voluntarily pay taxes which finance preparation for mass annihilation of mankind.

From 1929 to 1939 I worked for the U. S. Engineer Corps of the Department of Army on Missouri River channel improvement and flood control, resigning in 1939 from the civil service position of chief inspector on construction contracts. So, I am not unaware of the useful activities of government agencies.

For the past 21 years my wife and I have lived on the basis of voluntary poverty, functionally keeping ourselves free from encumbrances so that we may better fulfill our discipleship in Jesus Christ. During that time I have fulfilled duties as pastor of churches, director of an interracial Fellowship House, and Director of Peace Education for a regional office of the American Friends Service Committee (Quakers).

I believe that government of the people, by the people and for the people is a high order of human relations. Just and equitable laws, interpreted by impartial courts, and enforced under justice tempered with mercy are necessary parts of democratic government. I desire to strengthen these values.

My ultimate loyalty and allegiance is to a higher order of human relations. It is based on a relationship to God and to all mankind as children of God. To me that highest order of human relations--self-giving as a member of one human family--is preeminently revealed in the life of Jesus Christ and his death on the Cross. This allegiance transcends loyalty to human formed governments or any tribal or national entity. Because of this higher loyalty I participated in civil disobedience against nuclear testing by the Atomic Energy Commission at Camp Mercury in Nevada in 1957. The next year I was the coordinator of the committee which sponsored the Voyage of The Golden Rule against nuclear testing in the Pacific, and was one of a team of five people who tried to enter the Soviet Union to protest against nuclear testing by that country. For the past nine months, as project director of the Vigil at Fort Detrick, I have stood many hours in silent appeal at the entrance to the United States' germ warfare factory.

In all these actions, even those including civil disobedience against immoral acts of the government, I feel that I have served the cause of democratic government. The nuclear testing by national governments which poisoned the air of all men, at least two billion of whom had not given their consent, were acts of irresponsible, international anarchy. Likewise, preparation for mass annihilations is a crime against humanity. Such national behavior reveals an advanced form of mass psychosis which is rotting responsible democracy at its very roots.

My refusal to pay income taxes for the production of nuclear and germ warfare is not a matter of private conscience. I do this as my public duty to mankind and this coincides precisely with my devotion to God and a moral universe. I ask no special concession or private consideration. If you feel it is your duty to try to collect taxes, or turn the case over to the Department of Justice for penalty, then you should do so. But, I would urge you as one member of the human family to another to give the most serious consideration to what your moral duty is.

I am prepared to accept the penalty. By the Grace of God, whether the penalty be imprisonment or other, I hope to maintain a spirit of love and consideration toward you and all other men.

Philadelphia, Pa.

Sincerely,
LAWRENCE SCOTT

THE GREAT SALK

By Ernest Bloed

WAS THE VACCINE SUFFICIENTLY TESTED?

THE MISUSE OF STATISTICS

The Salk poliomyelitis vaccine was developed in about 1953 by Jonas Salk, who maintained that his vaccine contained only inactive virus and was effective and absolutely safe. He was able to convince those who urged caution that the "expensive and difficult procedures which had been suggested for the detection of possible residual live virus"² in his vaccine should be dispensed with; he based his assurance that this was entirely safe on a theoretical argument which has been severely criticized.

On April 12, 1955, the results of a 1954 field test were published and the Salk vaccine became a licensed product. Prof. Paul Meier of the School of Hygiene and Public Health at Johns Hopkins University revealed that "the vaccines used in the field trial, which were produced by two of the manufacturers, had been extensively tested in three laboratories and had been found negative for live virus. Many of the lots of vaccine released after the field trial had been produced by other manufacturers and had been tested only by the producer. Therefore, the safety of these lots could not properly be judged from the results of the field trial. All manufacturers had rejected some lots because live virus had been found in them, and therefore Salk's theory that safety was guaranteed by the method of preparation obviously did not apply."³

The field trial itself had violated the cardinal principles of scientific procedure. As said by Brownlee in the JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN STATISTICAL ASSOCIATION: "... 59 per cent of the trial was worthless because of the lack of adequate controls. The remaining 41 per cent may be all right but contains internal evidence of bias in favor of the vaccinated. . . . The reviewer . . . would point out that gamma globulin was triumphantly proclaimed effective by the National Foundation after a similar trial. . . ." (It may be of interest to note that in May of 1954, several months after it had been shown to be valueless in preventing poliomyelitis, the U. S. Public Health Service continued to recommend and distribute gamma globulin "for use against poliomyelitis".) No review of Brownlee's critique ever appeared in the JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN MEDICAL ASSOCIATION. The official report of the field trial was, nevertheless, used "by the National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis to push the vaccine into mass use in the spring of 1955."⁴

And so the public was deceived into permitting mass vaccination of children with a vaccine which should have been known to be unsafe and which was not known to be of any value in preventing poliomyelitis. Within two weeks it could no longer be denied that certain lots of vaccine had produced a number of cases of poliomyelitis, and within another four weeks all the vaccine was withdrawn from use.

* * *

On November 15, 1955, the U. S. Public Health Service released a report declaring that a single inoculation of the Salk vaccine used in 1955 was sufficient to give from 50 to 80 per cent

¹ These excerpts are from a more comprehensive study by Dr. Zeisler, under the same title. The full study will be published shortly in book form by THE MINORITY OF ONE, provided the necessary financial means can be obtained.

See editorial comment on page 2.

² Meier, P., *Safety Testing of Poliomyelitis Vaccine*, SCIENCE, 125: 1067, 1957.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Brownlee, K. A., *Statistics of the 1954 Polio Vaccine Trials*, JOURN. AMER. STATIST. ASSOC., 50:1005, 1955.

⁵ JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN MEDICAL ASSOCIATION, 155:205, 1954.

⁶ Brownlee, K. A., *Statistics of the 1954 Polio Vaccine Trials*, JOURN. AMER. STATIST. ASSOC., 50:1005, 1955.

⁷ Ratner, H., *Poliomyelitis Vaccine*, JOURN. AMER. MED. ASSOC., 160: 231, 1956.

⁸ CHICAGO DAILY NEWS, June 1956.

⁹ Ibid.

protection against paralytic poliomyelitis; two days later it issued another report stressing the safety of the current Salk vaccine. Dr. Herbert Ratner, Associate Clinical Professor of Preventive Medicine and Public Health at the Stritch School of Medicine of Loyola University, and Health Commissioner of Oak Park, Illinois, commented as follows: "The widespread national publicity that followed these reports naturally led the public and the medical profession at large to believe that we now had a safe and highly effective vaccine. However, what was not made sufficiently clear in the reports and the press stories that covered the country was that the first report, stressing excellent effectiveness, referred to an earlier model of a Salk vaccine and that the second report, stressing current safety, referred to a later model, . . . the Salk vaccine, for which great effectiveness is claimed on the basis of one inoculation, is a product that is no longer on the market nor in the hands of physicians . . . The Salk vaccine, then, which we were encouraged to believe is both highly effective and safe on the basis of recent reports, turns out to be, when highly effective, a vaccine that is no longer on the market and, when safe, a vaccine that has yet to make its appearance and clinically prove its effectiveness . . . during the summer the promoters of the vaccine continued to urge mass inoculations in spite of recognized ignorance on their part."⁷

* * *

In June of 1956, polio cases began to increase sharply in Chicago. Dr. Herman Bundesen, President of the Chicago Board of Health, was quoted as saying: "It's too early to speculate on the efficacy of the vaccine."⁸ This moment of candor was not to recur from then until now. On the same day, Dr. John B. Hall, Director of the Cook County Board of Health, said, concerning six cases of polio in children who had received the Salk vaccine, he "did not think the vaccine caused the polio attacks in those who got the disease after inoculation."⁹ On July 3, 1956, the National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis sent a letter to all physicians over the signature of Hart E. Van Riper, its Medical Director, urging them to "give reassurance that the present Salk vaccine is safe and effective to patients, parents and others in your community who still needlessly doubt it . . . the vaccine is at least 75% effective in preventing paralytic poliomyelitis. . . . Won't you take leadership in your community and among your patients to see that they get this safe, highly effective vaccine now?" On July 9, I wrote to Dr. Van Riper, quoting Drs. Bundesen and Hall, and asking: "Why, if the vaccine has been proved to be 75% effective is it still too early even to speculate about its effectiveness? And why, if it has been proved safe is it possible for the head of a health department merely to think that it did not cause infection?" In his reply, dated July 12, Dr. Van Riper said

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KVACCINE FIASCO

Blackout Zeisler, M.D.

BLACKOUT ON POLIO CASES IN VACCINEES

THE VACCINE AND POLIO CARRIERS

as to Dr. Bundesen's remark that "it's too early to speculate about the effectiveness of the vaccine": "I can only assume that Doctor Bundesen intended to imply that we could expect an even greater degree of effectiveness in the prevention of paralytic poliomyelitis in 1956 as compared with 1955. . . ." That this is not at all what Dr. Bundesen intended to imply is shown by the fact that only two days after expressing his doubt, he called a conference of health authorities to decide whether or not vaccination with the Salk vaccine should not be entirely discontinued in view of the accelerated rise of new cases of paralytic polio in Chicago. Dr. Bundesen obviously was considering the possibility that the Salk vaccine would help spread the disease.

* * *

On July 27 there were already 203 reported cases of paralytic polio in Chicago. But Dr. Bundesen said: ". . . there were no paralytic cases among children who had received all three shots."¹⁰ It must be obvious that this statement, even if true, was entirely without significance unless there was anyone in the affected area who had received all three injections. Compare the last six lines from *The Walrus and the Carpenter*:

"O Oysters," said the Carpenter,
"You've had a pleasant run!
Shall we be trotting home again?"
But answer came there none—
And this was scarcely odd, because
They'd eaten every one.

On the same day I wrote Dr. Van Riper the following: "If no child in the area had received three injections, then the fact that none of those with paralytic polio had received three doses is irrelevant and inevitable. In the daily figures which have been given there is always the statement as to how many of those who have come down with paralytic polio had been vaccinated, but never any figure as to how many children in the area had been vaccinated compared to the total number in the area. . . . People are being urged to have their children vaccinated at once, and physicians are urged to further this, with the implication that such procedure will be effective in stemming the tide of the present epidemic. . . . Yet, inasmuch as the third dose is to be given seven months after the first, only the first two could have any possible effect this year." This letter elicited only double-talk from Dr. Van Riper in a letter dated August 9. Dr. Bundesen continued to issue reassuring statements. On August 9 he stated he was "concerned with the dropoff in the number of persons returning for their second shots of vaccine. . . . The situation may become critical unless parents bring their children in for their second and third shots when they are due, and for the first inoculation if they have not already had it."

"Of the city's 371 paralytic cases—the form against which the vaccine is effective—not a single case has been reported for any person who had the recommended three inoculations. There have been 54 among those getting only one and 13 among those with two."¹¹ The obvious explanation for this division of the incidence of paralytic polio was, of course, that there were more persons who had had one injection than two, and *perhaps none* who had had all three. This was never suggested by the health

authorities or by the medical societies or journals. Even Dr. Thomas Francis, Jr., of the University of Michigan School of Public Health, told the university's medical alumni: "Of all the 113 polio cases in Michigan diagnosed as paralytic, not one case has been reported among those children who had previously received three shots of vaccine."¹² On September 29, the U. S. Public Health Service said that "three Salk shots have proved 100 per cent effective against polio so far this year."¹³

Still no indication that anyone had received all three injections! On September 30, I again wrote to Dr. Van Riper: "I have inquired from one of the foremost authorities in Chicago as to how many children in the Chicago epidemic area this summer had previously received three injections. He said no one knew the answer, but that the number was certainly very small. I then asked him whether to his knowledge any of them had received all three injections, and he replied that he did not know. I would greatly appreciate your reply to this question. . . ." On October 26, after inconsequential interim correspondence, he finally answered: "I am sorry that to date there has not been sufficient time elapsed since the Chicago epidemic to enable anyone to give a definite answer to the question you have raised. I do know that a study is being made and feel sure that this will be made public when it is completed." But no time was needed *after* the epidemic to determine how many persons had had all three injections *before* the epidemic began. In any case, here was a clear admission that no one knew, so that the repeated assurances of the 100 per cent effectiveness of three doses of the Salk vaccine in preventing paralytic polio in this epidemic admit of no possible explanation other than either deliberate falsehood with intent to deceive or unconscionable stupidity.

* * *

By late November the public had seemingly become so apathetic about Salk vaccination that the pharmaceutical houses and the health authorities enlisted the aid of President Eisenhower, and on November 27 induced him to express alarm that there were 17,000,000 doses of Salk vaccine unused on the shelf and that they could "prevent paralysis or even death." The *SUN-TIMES* quoted Dr. Bundesen as saying: "If everyone 45 or under gets the complete series, there will not be a single case of paralytic polio in Chicago in 1957"¹⁴ thereby asserting that the vaccine in three doses was 100 per cent effective.

On January 3, 1957, the U. S. Public Health Service reported that paralytic polio in the United States had dropped from 10,641 cases in 1955 to 6,708 cases in 1956. This was a decrease of 37 per cent. THE *NEW YORK TIMES* said: "Health officials said that the use of the Salk vaccine had undoubtedly reduced the disease but that there was no way of knowing to what extent."¹⁵ Immediately thereafter it said that in the same period hepatitis had decreased from 31,340 cases to 19,270 cases; this was a decrease of 38½ per cent, which was more than the decrease in paralytic polio. The health authorities said they had no explanation for this decrease. Later the same month it was reported at a meeting of the New York Academy of Sciences that there were records of more than 150 cases of paralytic polio, including several deaths, among persons who had received all three injections of Salk vaccine. Without ever referring to this, newspapers, medical journals and medical societies continued to plug for the vaccine. Members of the Illinois State Medical Society were circularized by Dr. Harold M. Camp, its secretary, with a letter dated February 11, 1957: "It is up to the medical profession to see that the

¹⁰ CHICAGO *SUN-TIMES*, July 27, 1956.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, August 9, 1956.

¹² *Ibid.*, September 28, 1956.

¹³ *Ibid.*, September 30, 1956.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, November 29, 1956.

¹⁵ *NEW YORK TIMES*, January 4, 1957.

public is advised immediately concerning the urgency of having every person between the ages of six months and forty years protected . . . all physicians should impress upon their patients that NOW is the time to develop the immunity offered by the three doses of vaccine."

In January of 1957, Tommy Mohr, a child from Albuquerque, New Mexico, contracted polio four months after his third inoculation with Salk vaccine; it was confirmed at Johns Hopkins Hospital that death was due to polio. After a delay of six weeks, this was reported by the National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis, which said that he had been "the first child positively known to have died of polio after three Salk vaccine shots."¹⁶ At about this time Dr. Herbert Ratner began to wage what was practically a single-handed crusade against the Salk vaccine fraud. On February 17, 1957, he delivered a letter to four major Chicago daily newspapers, in which he said among other things: "The people of Metropolitan Chicago and the good name of medical science deserve something better than the campaign of fear based on misleading data presently being conducted by the Chicago Health Commissioner in his promotion of Salk vaccination against poliomyelitis. The following facts have not as yet been made clear to the public or to the medical profession at large:

"1. The use of vaccine in Chicago last summer . . . was an unequivocal failure. . . . The proof of the failure is found in a comparison of the ratio of paralytic cases (the type of polio against which the vaccine is allegedly effective) to total polio cases in vaccinated and non-vaccinated groups. Paralytic polio was no lower proportionately in vaccinees than in non-vaccinees. In both groups the incidence was about 61%. This is in sharp contrast with Bundesen's contention in 1955, when mostly one shot was given, that the vaccine was 90% effective in paralytic polio."

"2. Contrary to Bundesen's implication, the chief reason why individuals with one shot had more polio in 1956 than individuals with two shots is because there were many more individuals who had one shot. As more individuals were vaccinated last summer, more who were vaccinated came down with polio. By July 19, one of every 13 cases was in a vaccinee. By August 1, one out of 7 was in a vaccinee, and from August 2 on, one out of every two cases of polio was in a vaccinee. . . ."

"5. Neither the public nor the medical profession has been told that the bulk of the Salk vaccine now on the market is of poor potency. . . . New York state authorities . . . reported a 600 fold variation in the potency of commercial vaccines. . . ."

"6. No respectable epidemiologist can agree with Bundesen when he states that if we do not intensively vaccinate 'The alternative is another polio outbreak this summer.' The fact is that the incidence of polio naturally decreases following a high incidence year. 1953 illustrates this. It showed a drop of 42% in the incidence of polio compared to 1952." The CHICAGO TRIBUNE, CHICAGO AMERICAN, CHICAGO SUN-TIMES published none of the contents of this letter, whereas the CHICAGO DAILY NEWS, after three weeks, published a brief and watered-down version¹⁷ and in the same issue continued to urge inoculation.

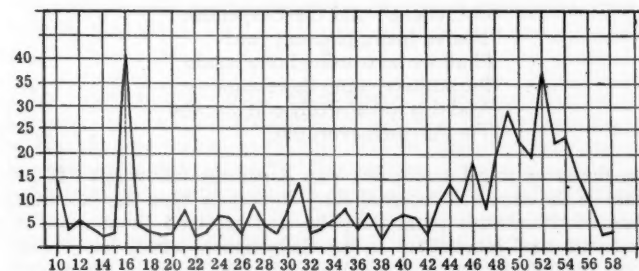
Dr. A. D. Langmuir of the Communicable Disease Center of the U. S. Public Health Service had said, at a meeting in Atlantic City in November of 1956, that the use of the vaccine in Chicago in 1956 "was a great disappointment."

Dr. Ratner's view of the matter is in accord with that of the Expert Committee on Poliomyelitis of the World Health Organization, which in its technical report in 1958 said: "It was noted in the Union of South Africa and in the USA, especially in the course of severe outbreaks in Hawaii and Chicago, that vaccination in the face of an epidemic did not appear to shorten its course. Laboratory and field studies have shown that vaccination

does not prevent infection or interfere with dissemination of virus in the community. . . ."¹⁸

In February of 1957, the National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis issued a pamphlet for physicians,¹⁹ purporting to give information concerning the Salk vaccine, but actually giving much mis-information. They reported what they called a study²⁰ of 3,198 acute hospital admissions for polio throughout the country, and said that the frequency of paralysis was 59% in the unvaccinated, 47% in those who had received one dose prior to the onset of disease, 32% in those who had received two doses, and 23% in those who had received three doses. Even if one were unwary enough to accept these data as reliable, it would follow at most that the effectiveness in preventing paralytic polio was 20% for one dose, 46% for two doses, and 61% for three doses. But the pamphlet states that "Paralytic attack rates have been 75 to 80 per cent lower among persons with one or two inoculations than among the unvaccinated. Preliminary studies among persons with three properly-spaced doses of vaccine suggest that the full course of inoculations may be better than 90 per cent effective against paralytic polio."²¹ High spokesmen of the AMA, including its president, Dr. Dwight H. Murray and its Chairman of the Board of Trustees, Dr. Gunnar Gunderson joined in this contention. They were supported by Dr. Edgar Martmer, President of the American Academy of Pediatrics and Dr. Malcolm Phelps, President-elect of the American Academy of General Practice. Their articles in the afore-mentioned pamphlet were accompanied by Dr. Salk's own contribution in which he contended that "It has been demonstrated that one dose of vaccine given in 1955 was effective in 60 per cent or more (average 75-80 per cent).²² This was a reference to the effectiveness of the vaccine in producing response in the way of circulating antibodies, which Dr. Salk knew not to be a measure of effectiveness in preventing the disease.

It is relevant to examine the evidence adduced in favor of the effectiveness of the vaccine. The annual incidence of poliomyelitis per 100,000 population in the United States from 1910 to 1958 may be indicated as follows:



There are two great peaks, one in 1916 and the other in 1952. The rise and fall around the later peak were much less precipitous than in the case of the earlier one. It is, of course, true that polio has diminished considerably since the introduction of the vaccine in 1955; but it diminished even more from 1952 to 1955 before the vaccine; and it decreased far more in the single year from 1916 to 1917, without any vaccine, than it did in the first two years with the vaccine. It should, therefore, be obvious that the decrease in itself is no evidence at all for the efficacy of the vaccine. It is alleged, however, that the decrease has been proportionately greater among the vaccinated than among the unvaccinated. Let us examine the evidence for this.

It is one of the cardinal principles of statistics that no reliable conclusions can be drawn from any samples which are clearly not random. And it is elementary that no sample consisting of volunteers for some procedure, such as vaccination, is random, inasmuch as the very fact that people volunteer indicates a difference from those who do not volunteer, and this difference may affect the outcome of the experiment. As Hill aptly says: "Mothers who bring their babies to be inoculated against an infectious disease may be the more intelligent who take more and better care of their children. Also, such mothers may be more frequently the mothers of single children or of a small

¹⁶ CHICAGO DAILY NEWS, March 14, 1957.

¹⁷ Ibid., March 14, 1957.

¹⁸ World Health Organization, Technical Report Series, No. 145. Expert Committee on Poliomyelitis. Second Report, p. 34, Geneva, 1958.

¹⁹ Information for Physicians on the Salk Poliomyelitis Vaccine, #4 February 1957.

²⁰ Ibid., p. 27.

²¹ National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis, Information for Physicians on the Salk Poliomyelitis Vaccine, #4, p. 2, February 1957.

²² Ibid., p. 18.

family; . . . A comparison of the inoculated volunteers with the uninoculated non-volunteers, therefore, involves important differences between the groups apart from the state of inoculation, differences which may well influence the relative incidence rates of disease and thereby produce quite misleading comparisons. Without very good evidence of equality such comparisons of volunteers and non-volunteers should not be made."²³

Secondly, no attempt was made to eliminate personal bias in making the diagnosis of poliomyelitis. There are more than a dozen illnesses due to viruses other than those of poliomyelitis, which may be indistinguishable from paralytic polio except by special virus studies. A physician seeing a patient with such paralytic illness at once inquires whether or not the patient has been vaccinated with the Salk vaccine, and his diagnosis is very likely to be influenced by the reply. Inasmuch as most physicians have been convinced that triple-vaccination is highly effective, they will make a diagnosis of poliomyelitis if there is no history of vaccination and will make the diagnosis of one of the other diseases if there is a history of triple-vaccination.

* * *

The entire study from its inception contained sufficient bias to cast grave doubt on its conclusions. And what is even more disturbing is that the afore-mentioned report, which had been "prepared by members of the Poliomyelitis Surveillance Unit of the United States Public Health Service" and which had originally appeared in mimeographed form for release on January 26, 1957, had contained the following paragraph: "Assumptions underlying these analyses introduce several sources of potential bias. Case reports were received through morbidity reporting systems of widely varying accuracy. Overall population figures and vaccine usage figures (particularly for commercial supplies of vaccine) were necessarily estimates. Variations in geographic and age-specific vaccination and attack rates could not be completely accounted for. Risk of exposure was assumed to be equal in the two populations and constant throughout the study period. Although attempts have been made to minimize the effect of these sources of errors, interpretations of the results must necessarily be guarded."²⁴ THIS PARAGRAPH WAS OMITTED IN THE VERSION GIVEN BY THE NATIONAL FOUNDATION FOR INFANTILE PARALYSIS. Dr. Ratner said: "It comes as a shock, therefore, to receive in the mail today an informational booklet for physicians which flagrantly violated editorial standards by deleting from a purportedly and otherwise completely reproduced article a short paragraph which discusses the assumptions that are introduced by the authors to guard against the unwary acceptance of the conclusions. The reader is not informed of the deletion. . . . The reader can decide for himself whether this deletion is or is not intended to deceive the physician. The fact remains that NFIP has seen fit to decide what physicians of this country shall or shall not read about the Salk vaccine . . . public money which the Foundation holds in trust is expended in a campaign of systematically misleading physicians who have the real responsibility for the public's health."²⁵ The conclusion can hardly be avoided that Dr. Rivers and the National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis were responsible for an omission which was indubitably misleading. Medical societies co-operated in the deception.

Surely by now enough time had elapsed since the 1956 epidemic to find out whether any person who did not develop paralytic polio had been triply-vaccinated before the epidemic. Dr. Van Riper's assurance to me ten months earlier that the answer to my question would be made public was not borne out, and more than three years thereafter it has still not been answered publicly!

²³ Hill, A. B., *Principles of Medical Statistics*, p. 18. Oxford University Press, New York 1955.

²⁴ Ratner, H., Letter to the editors of sundry medical journals, February 28, 1957.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ CHICAGO SUN-TIMES, August 25, 1957.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, August 27, 1957.

²⁸ CHICAGO SUN-TIMES, November 20, 1957.

²⁹ CHICAGO DAILY NEWS, September 2, 1958.

³⁰ Rivers, T. M., Letter to the editor, JOURN. AMER. MED. ASSOC., 167: 1551, 1958.

³¹ *Poliomyelitis Surveillance Report* #151, September 12, 1958.

³² *Ibid.*, #154, October 3, 1958.

An occasional note of disturbance crept into this saga of sunshine and love. Patricia Ann Jennings, an 8-year old Houston, Texas, girl who had been triply-vaccinated with Salk vaccine, died in St. Joseph's Hospital in Houston, and autopsy confirmed that death had been due to paralytic polio.³⁰ An 8-year old Chicago boy who had received three injections of Salk vaccine in 1956 came down with paralytic polio in May of 1957. This news was suppressed for more than three months, and was not reported publicly by the Chicago Board of Health until August 26, at which time it was stated that "It was the first case here of paralytic polio contracted by a child who had been given three injections."³¹ But for several months after the death, though before it had leaked out, Dr. Bundesen was still promoting the belief that three injections of Salk vaccine never failed to protect.

In spite of all the warning signs the campaign was conducted with full vigor. In November of 1957, AMA mailed two cards and a letter, dated November 25, from its president, David B. Allman, to all physicians in the United States urging continued vaccination. An evil-minded person, who did not know that physicians have no interest in money, might be inclined to draw invidious conclusions. . . .

The Executive Director Raymond Barrows of the National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis, was quoted as saying that "A total of about 75,000,000 persons have been given maximum protection with the three recommended Salk shots" but then he added: "A vaccinated child could carry the polio virus home and infect his mother. She might become paralyzed, if she had not been vaccinated."³² Here was an inadvertent admission that polio vaccine might actually be responsible for spreading paralytic polio, as suggested almost nine months before by Dr. H. Ratner in a letter to Dr. Hollister, Chief of the Poliomyelitis Vaccination Program, California Department of Public Health. This by no means proves that vaccination helped spread the disease, however, for a plausible explanation is that vaccination was pushed most in the most heavily infected areas.

About September 1, 1958, there was a case of paralytic polio—and bulbar at that—in a two and a half year old Chicago boy who had been triply vaccinated; the CHICAGO DAILY NEWS quoted Dr. Bundesen as saying that it was the first case in Cook County involving a person who had received all three Salk shots, "and, as far as we know it is the first case in the United States and possibly in the world."³³ This was six weeks after Dr. Thomas M. Rivers, Medical Director of the National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis, had admitted that over 200 paralytic cases in triply-vaccinated persons had been reported in the United States alone in 1957;³⁰ and it was 19 months since the National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis had said that there had already been 19 confirmed cases of paralytic polio in the United States in triply-vaccinated persons. Perhaps Dr. Bundesen did not know this. But after it was pointed out to him, there was no comment from Dr. Bundesen.

* * *

But things were not to go entirely smoothly: paralytic polio began to increase in the United States! By September 12 the U. S. Public Health Department reported that so far in 1958 there had been 126 cases of paralytic polio reported in triply-vaccinated persons, with six deaths.³¹ But this was in its official bulletins, and was not announced to the public at large.

The number of cases in the triply-vaccinated up to September 20 in the years 1957, 1958 was as follows:

	1957	1958	change from 1957 to 1958
paralytic	58	162	179% increase
non-paralytic	283	325	14.8% increase

Thus, the number of cases of paralytic polio in the triply-vaccinated had increased by 179%, more than twelve times the increase in non-paralytic polio in the same group. This also strongly suggested the possibility that vaccination was at least partly responsible for the increase in paralytic polio. But these facts were not reported by the press, by the medical journals, or by Dr. Bundesen.

For the six weeks ending September 27 the totals were:

	1957	1958	change from 1957 to 1958
paralytic	522	1014	94.3% increase
non-paralytic	838	811	3.2% decrease ³³

In other words, the incidence of non-paralytic polio had diminished below the previous year's level, but that of paralytic polio kept increasing and was almost double the previous year's, and this was true in almost all parts of the United States. In the face of this notable failure, the U. S. Public Health Service announced that "the Salk vaccine continued to show a high rate of effectiveness—about 87 per cent in 1958, and that it continues to be effective among those who were vaccinated more than three years ago."³³ The House of Delegates of the American Medical Association passed a resolution on December 4, 1958, recommending that every physician see to it that every person he examines be vaccinated fully.

The zenith of effrontery was attained just before Christmas, when the National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis announced that inasmuch as poliomyelitis had been conquered, they were changing their name to "National Foundation" and turning to what they termed "a broadened attack—arthritis and 'birth defects.'"³⁴

* * *

We have already seen that in November of 1956, Dr. Langmuir had openly admitted that the use of the vaccine in Chicago in 1956 "was a great disappointment," and that competent health authorities in various countries were agreed that an epidemic *could not be stopped* in this way.

In January of 1959, the Polio Vaccination Committee of the Chicago Medical Society urged continued vaccination: "There is strong evidence of the continued effectiveness of the vaccine in preventing paralysis—the protection afforded to the age group under 20 years by three shots is calculated as 87%, by two inoculations 74%, and by one inoculation 35%. . . . A year ago this committee recommended that a fourth 'booster' dose be given to all persons under 21 who had completed the third inoculation more than one year previously. It is hoped that this 'booster' dose will raise the prevention afforded from the present calculated 87% to 100%."³⁵ This defies polite comment, for the Committee knew perfectly well that in the two years 1957-1958 there had been at least 58 cases of paralytic polio among the relatively few persons who had been quadruply-vaccinated, so that it was absolutely certain that four doses were very far from 100% effective. In February, all Illinois physicians were urged by the Illinois State Medical Society and the American Academy of Pediatrics to give Salk vaccine to all patients between the ages of two months and 40 years, with the incorrect statement that "all authorities agree on the advisability of the 4th injection." As recently as the preceding October the U. S. Public Health Service had said there was no reason to change from the three-dose schedule,³⁶ and as recently as December that it was protective for more than three years.³⁷ The Illinois State Medical Society, while admitting that "Polio is not licked," said that the Salk vaccine had "the best record of any immunizing agent in general use;" this was an incorrect statement, for it was common knowledge that several other generally used immunizing agents, such as those against smallpox and diphtheria, had decidedly better records.

In March, 1959, Mr. Basil O'Connor, President of the National Foundation, in urging against a united fund for all charities, said that the March of Dimes had raised more than 500 million dollars in 15 years. He said further: "The result was the Salk

vaccine. Because of it, no child in this country or anywhere else in the world need ever again suffer the paralysis of one disease—polio."³⁸ On March 13 it was reported that since January 1 there had been 193 cases of polio—of which 135, or 70%, were paralytic—compared with a total for the same period in 1958 of 153 cases—of which 87, or 57%, were paralytic. The paralytic cases were 55% higher in 1959 than in 1958. At this very time the Chicago Medical Society said: "A 30 year battle against diphtheria, and a 100 year war against smallpox cannot claim results comparable to those obtained in a two year fight against polio."³⁹ This was true only of the financial results.

On April 26, 1959, Mr. Basil O'Connor admitted that⁴⁰ in the first quarter of this year there were 83% more cases of paralytic polio than in the first quarter of 1958; three weeks later⁴¹ this increase had grown to more than 100%. A month later Dr. Bundesen said: "Every parent has the responsibility to see that his children get the shots. We now have a weapon to fight polio. That weapon is the Salk vaccine. The best known method to prevent a polio outbreak is to keep the community thoroughly inoculated. If that is done, there will be no outbreak. . . . Widespread use of the vaccine is undoubtedly the reason why not a single case of polio has been reported here since January 1."⁴²

In a round table discussion at the Minnesota State Medical Association, it was revealed⁴³ that although 90% of children under 6 years of age in Israel had been given Salk shots there was at that very time an epidemic of polio in Israel. On June 19 the U. S. Public Health Service announced that for the first 23 weeks of 1959 there were 452 cases of paralytic polio as compared to 231 in the first 23 weeks in 1958; this was an increase of 95.7%. A week later the U. S. Public Health Service refused to license the Albert Sabin live virus vaccine, to be given orally, on the grounds that it was "still in the experimental stage," and urged the public to get the "protection" of the Salk vaccine.⁴⁴ It was casually stated that the Salk vaccine is made from a mixture of killed polio viruses and is given in a series of four injections, with no reference to the fact that for the past four years assurance had been given the public that three injections were highly protective.

In the face of a marked increase in paralytic poliomyelitis for the past two years in the United States, Dr. A. D. Langmuir of the U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare still wrote concerning the Salk vaccine as follows: "Completion of the immunization program should lead to the essential elimination of paralytic poliomyelitis from the United States. . . . The marked downward trend of poliomyelitis in the past four years is due in large part to the immunization program . . . the complete elimination of the paralytic form of the disease . . . is within reach."⁴⁵ The JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN MEDICAL ASSOCIATION published this without comment.

The considerable increase in paralytic poliomyelitis in the United States during the past two years, despite the progressive decrease in the number of the most susceptible persons (those under 40) who have not yet been triply-vaccinated, does not prove that the vaccine is valueless. But the evidence, biased as it is in favor of the vaccine, suggests that it may be of little or no value. Even more, it suggests the distinct possibility that the vaccine may actually be at least partly responsible for the increase by producing carriers who spread the disease.

ALTERNATIVE VACCINE RECOMMENDED

A resolution recommending the use of attenuated polio virus vaccine will be submitted to the 109th annual meeting of AMA to be held in Miami Beach, Fla., June 13-17, 1960. Its sponsor, Dr. C. C. McLean of Birmingham, Ala., points out that the vaccine has been administered to millions of people in 19 countries without producing a single proven case of paralytic polio. All Russians between the ages of 2 months and 20 years will be inoculated in 1960 with live virus polio vaccine developed by Dr. Albert Sabin of Cincinnati. Health authorities throughout the world are alleged to favor the replacement of the Salk vaccine by an attenuated virus vaccine.

³³ CHICAGO SUN-TIMES, December 12, 1958.

³⁴ JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN MEDICAL ASSOCIATION, 259:1275, 1958 (December 25).

³⁵ CHICAGO MEDICAL SOCIETY BULLETIN, p. 519, January 17, 1959.

³⁶ U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, *Communicable Disease Center Poliomyelitis Surveillance Report*, Supplement No. 16, 1958.

³⁷ CHICAGO SUN-TIMES, December 12, 1958.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, March 1959.

³⁹ CHICAGO MEDICAL SOCIETY BULLETIN, p. 704, March 21, 1959.

⁴⁰ CHICAGO TRIBUNE, April 27, 1959.

⁴¹ CHICAGO DAILY NEWS, May 16, 1959.

⁴² CHICAGO TRIBUNE, May 24, 1959.

⁴³ CHICAGO DAILY NEWS, March 29, 1959.

⁴⁴ CHICAGO SUN-TIMES, June 26, 1959.

⁴⁵ Langmuir, A. D., *Progress in Conquest of Paralytic Poliomyelitis*, JOURN. AMER. MED. ASSOC., 171:271, 1959.

Come to Think of It . . .

BY SAUL HELLER

Was that American "weather-mapping" plane the Russians shot down sent to test Soviet temperatures or to raise them?

Physicians who examined the bodies of 250 colored people killed or injured by South African police at Sharpville, testified that 70% of the victims had been shot in the back. To South African police, the only menace greater than the Negro who fights back is the Negro who runs away.

An Army report on Soviet military strategy reveals that the Russians are not building up forces capable of launching a surprise nuclear attack against the United States. Now we can go on preparing to repel a surprise attack with a much easier mind.

A corporation tax authority told the U. S. Chamber of Commerce that tax rates would not be lowered until management put an end to its taxdodging practices. The Government obviously feels there's no need to reduce taxes as long as there is such an efficient do-it-yourself movement among businessmen.

People who accepted the views of military experts that there is no safe shelter against H-bomb blast effects, and refused to take cover during our recent nationwide air-raid drill, were arrested. Has it become a crime to take our military experts seriously?

Admiral Arleigh A. Burke proposes we spell communism with a *k*, to remind us it's a foreign philosophy, and help us fight it better. If the Admiral's point of view spreads, accurate spellers may become enemies of our way of life.

Lewis B. Hershey, Selective Service Director, disclosed that 73% of our draftees were rejected in 1959 for physical, mental or moral reasons—an increase of 7 per cent over 1958. It's getting harder and harder to muster enough fit people into the army to insure the survival of the unfit.

Seventy-five thousand Englishmen held a mass demonstration in London calling for the banning of H-bombs and unilateral British disarmament. English people won't feel safe from nuclear attack until the government stops trying to protect them from it.

Sweden, a country with the highest standard of living in Europe, also has the highest suicide rate. Seems as if some people can't stand life when it stops being intolerable.

New York City's Police Commissioner ordered signs reading "Bribery Is a Crime" to be displayed in police stations. Might also be helpful to add: "It Is Illegal for Policemen to Steal."

Mr. Heller is a free-lance writer and former editor of trade magazines.

THE BRIGHTER SIDE

Three Cheers

► **FOR Assistant Secretary of Defense Murray Snyder** for seeking legislation prohibiting defense contractors from advertising their "views" on the "merits" of weapons and military strategy.

► **FOR Rep. James Roosevelt** for calling on the House of Representatives to abolish its Un-American Committee.

► **FOR the Senate's Antitrust and Monopoly Subcommittee** for withstanding lobby pressures and further pursuing its investigations of malpractices in the drug industry.

► **FOR Adlai Stevenson** for his candid attack on the Administration's coddling of Latin-American dictators.

► **FOR the U. S.-India grain deal** that will help combat famine in the world's second most populous country, signed in Washington.

► **FOR the staff of the Senate Commerce Committee** for urging the removal of existing curbs on American-Soviet trade in a report prepared for the Committee.

► **FOR Senators Estes Kefauver and J. Glenn Beall** for introducing bills to compensate the widows of the 19 Navy bandmen killed in an air collision while en route to entertain President Eisenhower and his guests in Latin America.

► **FOR Senator Francis Case** for introducing a bill to establish a National Academy of Culture.

► **FOR The Washington Young Friends (Quakers)** for advising 22,000 high school students in Washington, D. C., of the right to claim conscientious objector status before draft boards.

► **FOR Rev. W. D. Simpson**, a white Baptist minister from Nederland, Texas, arrested for leading 22 Negro college students in a lunch counter sitdown demonstration.

► **FOR the United States Chamber of Commerce** for supporting a liberal national policy of trade and reciprocal tariff cuts.

► **FOR the demonstrators in New York City and elsewhere**, who, at the risk of arrest, refused to take "shelter" during the recent nation-wide Civil Defense drill to refute the Government's folly.

► **FOR the Seafarers International Union** for picketing the U.A.R. freighter Cleopatra as a protest against U.A.R.'s blacklisting of ships doing business with Israel.

► **FOR THE NEWLY INDEPENDENT STATE OF TOGO.**

Whose Press Conference Was It?

All day Wednesday, May 18th, CBS announcers kept reminding their audience that Khrushchev's Paris press conference would be televised that evening. When finally the modern miracle of broadcasting enabled us to "join" the newspapermen at the Palais de Chaillot it turned out that not Mr. Khrushchev but two political propagandists of the CBS were in the main role. Not only did Walter Cronkite and Richard C. Hottelet do most of the talking, only occasionally interrupted by a close-up of the speaker in Paris, but not for a moment did they rely on the American viewer's own ability to gain impressions of him. The two "reporters" were engaged in a contest of biting, ridiculing and insulting remarks, including an utterly idiotic likening of Khrushchev to Adolf Hitler. They even resorted to a new technique of "advance" commentaries—rebutting, belittl-

ing and laughing off remarks and gestures the Soviet Premier was only about to make; and which remarks and gestures were obviously known to them from a pre-run of the film. (Did the other networks resort to similar perverse techniques?)

To be sure, Mr. Khrushchev's performance on that occasion, irrelevant of the merits of the position he was defending, was anything but dignified or statesman-like. His appearance on American television, however, under the watchful eye of obnoxious "chaperones" was intended to "protect" the American people against their own minds.

The speed with which our "free" networks have returned to the spirit of intensified cold war is indeed worthy of the most efficient propaganda agencies of totally totalitarian regimes.

From READERS' LETTERS

TAXATION FOR WAR

One of your writers, Jeanne Bagby, sent me the April issue of your magazine. I was much interested in the high calibre of the articles and editorial comment.

Enclosed is a copy of a letter which I have written to the Collector of Internal Revenue. Since the problem of taxation for war is a universal one I thought you might be interested in publishing the letter in your magazine.

Lawrence Scott

Philadelphia, Pa.

(See Mr. Scott's Open Letter to the Collector of Internal Revenue elsewhere in this issue.)

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FAITH IN MAN HIMSELF

In view of the statement in your able critique accompanying my article, *Peace Through UN Reform*, in your April issue that "The author takes for granted that such democratic reform (of UN representation) would 'end wars forever,'" I should like to point out that nowhere in the original study from which the article was taken, is such a panacea presented or implied.

The subtitle of *A Parliament For Man*—"A Plan For Reform Of UN Representation"—clearly indicates the limit of the study. Only after an outline of the many complex problems involved in any effective UN reform, is the premise for the study itself presented: "But the vital problem of representation in the new world legislature . . . will have to be considered first of all, if the people of the world are to have a voice in solving any of the others."

What you call my "mystical faith in Democracy" is actually a faith in man himself, imperfect though he so often seems to be—a faith which I acknowledge with no shame or "naivete." Like history itself, which has no end and no beginning, man's potential for progress remains still unfinished and unproved. There can be no final typing of him as strong or weak, good or evil, till the world itself is ended.

I agree that seemingly "normal" citizens are capable of bestial acts, under certain influences. But I believe even more such citizens are capable, not only of fine and heroic action at times, but will also—given the opportunity for independent thinking—support honest and idealistic leadership. Even the worst of them will be found to admire such leadership. (The most corrupt lawyer I ever met was an ardent collector of books on Abraham Lincoln!) Even if they do not openly support such leadership, secretly they hope for it. It is this secret hope in every man which is the important fact we must build on; because, given encouragement at the right moment, hope, however hidden, can become supporting action. Democracy was never invented in any one nation or mind. It will always mean many things to many people. Even in France today, it is still a valid philosophy—it is the lack of the French citizen's faith in it, and in his own powers (as any Frenchman of conscience is sadly aware) that has brought the present paternalism to power.

As to my "dangerous" skepticism toward education as it is largely practised today, it seems to me that your own articles in *THE MINORITY OF ONE* provide a wealth of evidence on the sophistry and lack of inspiration so often found in formal education presently. The intellectual double-talk of "foreign specialist" courses in our major universities, supervised by the State Department and planned to train smooth young Americans in Ivy League outfits to maneuver their way into upcoming struggling governments overseas, is typical of the corruption found in higher education today. Real education—"depth education"—we do indeed profoundly need. But it must be administered by men more courageous, more dedicated, than most of those who march, in scarlet and purple, on our campuses today at graduation time.

Mary Hays Weik

New York, N. Y.

TO SPARK A REVIVAL OF INDIVIDUALISM

I am enclosing check for additional subscriptions to *THE MINORITY OF ONE*.

It was Bertrand Russell who said:

"I think one of the troubles of the world has been the habit of dogmatically believing something or other, and I think all these matters are full of doubt and the rational man will not be too sure he is right. I think that we ought always to entertain our opinions with some measure of doubt."

Your magazine takes one's mind out of the habitual groove and projects it into a realm of critical analysis and reflection.

It is of particular significance that the locus of your publication is Richmond, Virginia, a region where the spirit of McCarthyism is not as moribund as some may presume in other sections of the country.

It is within the range of possibility that *THE MINORITY OF ONE* will serve as a centripetal force which will attract people in many walks of life who are sincerely concerned with the deadening level of conformity in our American culture. Your publication may spark a revival of the spirit of individualism which carried our country to greatness in the past and which is so necessary to maintain its role as a protagonist of what is best in our western heritage.

Samuel Newman, M.D., D.H.L.

Danville, Va.

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"LIBERAL" IS A DIRTY WORD AND NIXON IS DR. ZAMENHOF'S "DISCIPLE"

Your name and mine appear on the membership roster of the Esperanto League for North America. Purportedly a non-partisan "truth" publication, "Minority of One" is actually a vehicle for feeble-minded "liberal" propaganda. It would be easy to disprove nearly all of it. While I teach Esperanto and cultivate a public interest in it, you and people like you are tearing down everything we build. One crackpot discredits a hundred real Esperantists.

You made an especial point of libeling our vice-president. As a matter of fact, Richard Nixon is directly responsible for instigating the use of Esperanto on the "Voice of America." You hate him for the same "reason" that all communists hate him—because he's a humanitarian. Evidently neither Nixon nor Zamenhof is good enough for you.

"Samedeane,"

Wm. E. Walker

Novato, Calif.

(EDITOR'S REPLY: *Mi kredas ke kompari D-ro Zamenhof kun Nixon estas kalumnio al la memoro de nia granda instruisto.*)

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DON'T LET THEM GET IT FREE

I am in sympathy with the mission of *THE MINORITY OF ONE*. I do want to make it possible for the publication to continue. I hope my friends to whom I requested you send sample copies have also responded by sending in their subscriptions.

Enclosed is a \$25.00 contribution and three more names. Please, send them sample copies only—not gift subscriptions. If they like the publication well enough, they can send in their own subscriptions. I have already communicated to them my enthusiasm for the publication.

I sincerely hope *THE MINORITY OF ONE* receives the response it warrants.

Howard Lee Miller

Twentynine Palms, Calif.

HOW DID SHE READ (?) DE TOCQUEVILLE?

Very interesting and challenging publication, also biased by your experience under Hitler. (Most writings are biased by one thing or another.)

In a way, you appear to be very intimately acquainted with our history for a European only recently come. At the same time you appear to judge our degree of democracy as of the moment, without understanding the deeper concept of it that would, for instance, belie Bagby's statement that writing to the President means nothing—that would belie many, many statements in your publication that are cynical and sarcastic, hence purely destructive. This is a time to face our problems squarely and to deal with them constructively in the light of our ideals. Permit me to refer you to another foreigner who wrote profoundly on this subject: de Toqueville's (sic!) *Democracy in America*. I trust you will not only point up our problems but help us to solve them.

Irene Koch

Chicago, Ill.

(EDITOR'S REPLY: Wish you read "Constructive" and "Destructive" Criticism in the March, 1960, issue of *THE MINORITY OF ONE*. More importantly, I also wish you not only referred to but also read de Toqueville's *Democracy in America*, as I must conclude from your reference that you have not read it yet.)

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ON KEEPING CAMPAIGN PROMISES

Your April issue of *THE MINORITY OF ONE* is so wonderful I scarcely know what to comment on first. But I believe *Ghost Writing Creates Ghosts* is extremely important. You ask, "If it is a crime to pay \$3,000 for a doctorate dissertation (and it certainly is!), isn't it at least an equal crime to become the President of the United States or a Senator by reading off the electorate speeches the candidate is not capable of writing?" In the same category should be included candidates who deliver campaign speeches without any intention of keeping their promises once they are elected to public office.

I know of at least three Senators, the late Secretary of State Dulles, President Eisenhower and his brother Milton, who before taking public office gave the impression of favoring an Atlantic Union. But once in office, their attitudes changed and yesterday's world federalist, the late John Foster Dulles stated in a Paris news release that federation "was not practical politics."

C. C. Wilson, Managing Editor
Taxpayer-Consumer Research
Reports

Danville, Ill.

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THE MORON'S WORLD

Few people indulge in serious reading. Most have their eyes fixed upon their television screens and their minds controlled by the few who prosper from oppression and war. After killing fear-stricken animals for food, they get their "education" from war-promoting politicians and vested interests. If only enough people would read such publications as yours, they would probably do a little more thinking.

I read your *Personal Note* and realize that you were right in hell itself during World War II. You appreciate why it is so easy to "educate" and train morons for warfare. War contractors draw billions from taxes paid by morons so they can be ordered killed by other morons. Those who perpetrate the most destruction in time of war are highly admired, honored and immortalized by the masses of morons, while those who truly strive for peace, equality, abundance and justice for all the people are persecuted for doing so. And hell prevails right here on earth. . . .

Chas. Beaulieu

Cumberland, Wis.

"I DO NOT AGREE WITH A WORD YOU SAY, BUT I WILL DEFEND TO THE DEATH YOUR RIGHT TO SAY IT."

To indicate our interest and support of your right and privilege to distribute your thoughts and ideas for the consideration of the readers, we enclose our check to cover a 2-year subscription. We would very much like to have as many of the back issues as might still be available, because we feel that this is not necessarily dated material, and would be of great interest in the future, as well as now.

I am sure that you do not expect readers to agree with everything that you say, and very often when we are critical of others we fail to recognize our shortcomings and limitations, but I would like to point out one small statement which I think could well be eliminated from your masthead; namely, "Regrettably, this publication is printed in a not unionized plant due to the local unavailability of a unionized printing plant." The implication is rather clear that you feel there is something superior in a unionized print shop, which if you stop to consider is a very narrow view, because certainly the individual is entitled to be organized and be part of a union, and by the same token, the individual has a perfect right to remain outside of a union, if that is what he believes. Please, understand, I point this out only from a sense of fairness and truth, which you rather clearly indicate you are trying to uphold and espouse.

Cordially yours,

THE LINCOLN LIBRARY
H. E. Luhrs
Director

Shippensburg, Pa.

WOW!

I wish to congratulate you upon the incisive manner in which you reveal the heart of the real issues affecting mankind. You are a modern Thomas Paine. I salute you!

George S. Kerry

Seattle, Wash.

TO DISTRIBUTE BY THE MILLIONS

Thanks a million for the copy of your magazine. More power to you. Let's hope you can soon distribute copies by the millions. I am a reader of *The Independent* ever since Lyle Stuart started its publication. The "big shots" said it wouldn't last for more than one or two issues, but it is still going strong and increasing its readers by leaps and bounds. Neither of you accepts advertising and you are under no obligation to anyone. We need a heap of just such publications as yours and *The Independent*.

J. E. Bell

Massillon, Ohio

MAKING THE HEADLINES . . .

I've been fascinated by the first issue of *THE MINORITY OF ONE* that has come to me as part of Mrs. Steve Allen's gift.

I don't know whether you are familiar with *The Independent*. However, we run a feature called "Inside The Nation's Press." I would like to do something on your periodical and, therefore, wish to learn about the circumstances of launching and the growth of *THE MINORITY OF ONE*.

Many thanks and good luck!

Lyle Stuart, Publisher

New York, N. Y.

DESPAIR, HOPE AND HAPPY END

I received your sample copy and thought it was great. Alas I have lost it—left it in a car, and do not have your full address. If this finds you, please send me a subscription form or just your address.

Rhoda C. Gilbert

New York, N. Y.

WISH I HAD MORE "COMPETITORS" OF THIS KIND

My congratulations to you on keeping your magazine going. Interestingly enough, I was considering starting a magazine of this type in the past (I have had writing, editing and production experience on technical journals) but decided against it because of insufficient funds. One of the titles for the magazine that ran through my mind was, oddly enough, "A Minority of One." When I realized it wasn't going to be practical to start a publication of this kind, I commented to my wife that the intellectual climate of the country was changing, and that magazines dedicated to finding and printing the truth were going to appear in the near future. So it was quite gratifying when my wife brought me a copy of your publication the other day.

My best wishes to you for a long and prosperous future.

Saul Heller

New York, N. Y.

(See Mr. Heller's *Come to Think of It . . .* elsewhere in this issue.)

THE MORAL MAN WILL PREVAIL

In your *Personal Note* you state that you came to the realization that you and all humans contain in themselves the potential of committing bestialities you have unfortunately suffered from. I firmly disagree with you and see no reason why you should tar yourself with blood shed by murderers. I believe in man's inner sense of justice. As the world will become less competitive and offer more security to the individual, the moral man will prevail.

Harry Goldfarb

Brooklyn, N. Y.

THE TRUTH ABOUT FIDEL

We are grateful to you for reprinting the announcement of The Fair Play For Cuba Committee and especially so, considering the amount of effort this required on your part.

It was thoughtful of you to send us back copies of your publication to bring us up to date on your Cuban "campaign", much of which we fundamentally agree with.

There is a point on which I personally differ with you. I too once thought Fidel was engaged in a campaign against his enemies but after talking to a number of Cubans and recent visitors to Cuba I found them almost unanimous in explaining the underlying reasons. Before any trials were held, Fidel personally pleaded with the people, over radio and television, not to take vengeance. But to a population that had lived under terrorism he had to promise justice would be done. As late as last week, during a forum discussion of Cuban military trials here in New York, there were some Cuban-Americans who rose to their feet and cried out: "He should have killed more!" You can see that were it not for those trials mob vengeance would be uncontrollable.

To discover someone else also interested and engaged in purveying the truth is truly refreshing and welcome.

Pat Linden

For The Fair Play
For Cuba Committee

New York, N. Y.

SUSPICIOUS OF PLAIN SANITY

Having become just a little bit cynical after twenty three years in this world, I must admit to some slight suspicion at what seems to be the most heartening publication I have ever seen. I am, however, going to put aside whatever feeling of "suspicion" I have to express my gratitude for your alliance with the cause of brotherhood.

Would it be at all possible to pay you a personal visit some time in August?

Kai M. Klemm

New York, N. Y.

(EDITOR'S NOTE: Shall be looking forward to meeting you.)

THE SACRED FLAME

In your well printed and impressive publication you are verily taking upon yourself a host of adversaries, some as cold and cruel as steel. Your discussion of the *Tribulations* of an "Unacceptable" Publication (May issue) is very brave; what you say is absolutely true. And I admire that *few sacre* which seemingly burns in you akin to the divine madness which filled the Prophets of old.

In the *Oakland Tribune*, a paper owned by the Knowland family, where Ex-Senator William Knowland is now an editor, I found the following jewel July 6, 1957: "Few things would get an American in trouble quicker than exercising to the fullest extent his right of free speech."

It makes no difference how many more doctors and hospitals and how many improvements in medical science we develop—DEATH will still be the winner. So will stupidity, cupidity, imbecility, and cussedness, especially in this country because it is so well organized for the propagation of these blind destructive forces.

Your article *Individual Conscience and State Crime* is gripping and stark in its realism, but it is philosophically true and a noble statement on your part.

Franz Schneider

Berkeley, Calif.

(Dr. Schneider is professor of German at the University of California, and his *Pray for Peace* appeared in the May issue of *THE MINORITY OF ONE*.)

"TO STATE THE MALADY IS NOT TO INDICATE ITS REMEDY . . ."

This is to thank you for that tragic and powerful story of Hans—*Individual Conscience and State Crime* (May issue). In this item your conclusion that the real crisis of men is the fact that the "individual has become totally submerged in the state whatever its political coloration" coincides with mine. Yet we must ever ask *Why* is this so? At this point I am intrigued with Wilhelm Reich's answer in *Mass Psychology of Fascism*. To state the malady is not to indicate its remedy, and this is our real problem, though powerful stories like yours should help us to see the problem.

There are so many spots in your paper where I wish the writer had gone deeper—Rep. Byron Johnson in his peace program, Mr. Justice Wm. O. Douglas in not indicating *why* there aren't enough jobs for everyone, you in your analysis of economic reform.

Mildred Loomis

Brookville, Ohio

A BREEZE OF FRESH AIR . . .

I found on the newsstands the last two (April and May) issues of *THE MINORITY OF ONE*. It was a delight to read them from desk to desk. It was like a breeze of fresh air.

I will visit my relatives in Richmond shortly and I would be glad to meet you on that occasion.

Dr. David Wdowinski

Professor, Psychology and Psychiatry
New School For Social Research

New York, N. Y.

HIS MIND NOT FOR SALE

I should be happy to contribute cartoons or pen-and-ink illustrations to your publication without charge if you need this type of work.

I am an artist who for the time being must depend on the whims and half-truths of advertising for a living. Contributing work to *THE MINORITY OF ONE* would be a way of using my talent and training honestly and of keeping a degree of personal integrity.

Joseph W. Gluhman

Cleveland, Ohio

(Mr. Gluhman's cartoons are featured in *THE MINORITY OF ONE* ever since the April, 1960 issue. He is a graduate of the Johns Hopkins University.)

A FOOTNOTE TO "TRUTH"

A little education can be a confusing and frustrating thing. The complete ignoramus is in a sense the most enviable character: no puzzles exist for him, there is no knowledge he does not possess (to paraphrase Socrates), no limitations to his own mind. The educated individual can only match these positives with a series of consistent negatives: everything is full of enigmas to him and he despairs at his mental limitations. In between the two there is another character who combines some of the positives of the first with some of the negatives of the second. He has heard the bells ring, he knows they exist. But unaware that man's ultimate level of knowledge is at best still a state of confusion, voids and inarticulation, he imposes the positive simplicity of ignorance over the first bits of knowledge which should lead him, but don't, to true intellectual "confusion". And so, he positively knows where the bells rang without appreciating the frustrating possibilities of echoes.

These thoughts were prompted by certain correspondents who have undertaken to enlighten us on the "relativity", and therefore "meaninglessness", of the truth this publication professes to serve.

Of course, in an irrelevant sense these critics are perfectly right. Both philosophically and psychologically "truth" is a relative term, and unless one accompanies his profession of truth with a philosophical elaboration, he gives us little, if any, insight into his system of thought. This does not mean that, when you face a judge for committing a fraud, you may plead innocent and tell him: "Oh no, your honor, I certainly am guilty of no crime all I actually did was practice my interpretation of Aenesidemus's teaching, and if you please, your honor, I was also taking a stand in the quarrel between Locke and Leibnitz." Nor could Jack the Ripper claim to be nothing but a practicing Malthusian. Locke, Leibnitz or Malthus, unless you come up with a more practical alibi, the judge is bound to provide you with rent-free lodging in a penitentiary.

Philosophical speculations on what truth ultimately is did not come to provide rationalizations for cheats or license for criminals. Indeed, were it not for their seeking of truth, there would have been no philosophers to elevate man's concepts beyond his own internal and external environs. It is an unforgivable vulgarization of

man's intellectual achievements when one enters the storehouse of knowledge just to steal rationalizations for his anti-social notions.

In any case, whatever philosophical or psychological school one embraces, truth is never something one knows to be untrue. When anti-labor legislation, for instance, is deceptively designated the *Right to Work*, when a hardly tested prophylactic vaccine is peddled as a guaranteed means of health protection, when a television announcer delights at the mention of a "romantic" laxative, when a patriotic foreign leader is defamed because, unlike his predecessor, he refuses to be bribed and serves his people rather than foreign expansionist interests, when tyrants and dictators are offered moral and financial support in the name of democracy, when a whole people is stupefied by internal propaganda on a million and one issues—all these occasions have nothing to do with a philosophical search for truth, however "relative", they are simply lies, deliberate, expedient lies, and their authors are much more closely related to an Al Capone than they are to a Nietzsche or a Kant, a F. H. Bradley or a Rudolf Carnap.

Unfortunately, our society has largely turned into a horde of vulgar disciples of Sigmund Freud. We have learned his techniques not in order to pursue truth but to make a cynical mockery of every true value: we have learned to prostitute our arts and our public life, our commerce and our religion. And the greater the mastery of the "art", the greater the power and the prestige it bestows upon the "artist". What historically were called "cheats" and "prostitutes" are psycho-rationalized into "leaders" and "politicians", "businessmen" and "patriots", "newspapermen" and "executives".

When this publication lashes out against lies, distortions and propaganda, it does so without any concern for the high office the liar might be holding. But our professions of truth are not of the anemic, detached kind. Indeed, the pursuit of truth cannot possibly be anemic, detached or "objective"; it has a social and a moral tendency. Of course, we neither are nor wish to be deprived of such a tendency. And as long as we believe this tendency serves more than a personal interest, we wish only to be joined by many others. Perhaps, this is even a way for making this world just a little bit better than it is. . . .

PUTTING SEMANTICS STRAIGHT

The "Socialism" W

When the spokesmen of business protest against any government interference in the economy they are quite lacking in candor. While seemingly they are stigmatizing governmental regulation of the economy as "creeping Socialism", in actuality they stand as remote from classic laissez-faireism as the Socialists themselves. The difference between the Capitalists and the Socialists has little to do with free versus controlled enterprise; our businessmen, as much as any Socialist, would get quite apprehensive were the Government to pursue a hands-off economic policy. In spite of all professions to the contrary, the American plutocrats have a definite vested interest in the Government's economic intervention. Claims to the contrary are propagandistically devised not to oppose governmental interference per se but to provide an expedient theoretical premise for opposing any governmental intervention that might prove unprofitable to business. The Tennessee Valley Authority has been a cinder in the eye of our corporation magnates not because it violates their principles but because it offers them no dividends.

On the other hand our industrial magnates are sponsoring political propaganda to convince the citizenry that more and more armaments are a compelling defense need. This fantastic distortion of the world picture is intended precisely to invite Government interference in the economy. Such interference, however, comes on industry's own terms. The Federal Government is made into its agent in that it collects revenue in order to become industry's customer.

Most of the propaganda conducted by the industry to justify this kind of economic activity on the part of the Federal Government is indirect and disguised. Its most effective channels are intrinsic in the composure and interchangeability of the three main components of our power elite: the federal bureaucracy, the financial magnates and the military brass. Equally hidden from the public view is the link between the major part of the American press and the power elite. Appearing as an independent forum of public discussion, the press, together with radio and television, strictly controls the thinking of the citizenry, molding it in accordance with the interests of the business world of which it is an integral part. As if this were not enough, some corporations openly sponsor undisguised political propaganda; a commercial announcer of General Electric or some other corporation substitutes a political speech for a traditional commercial announcement. Full page political announcements, sponsored by business corporations, deal not with their products and their miraculous virtues but with such topics as world peace and disarmament, diplomatic crises and domestic social problems.

That so sponsored political commentaries invariably advocate any course that will keep armaments on the increase is not surprising. "Don't trust Khrushchev!"—warn syndicated columnists who, without the approval of business advertisers, would be quite unacceptable to the newspapers that feature them, and "Don't trust Khrushchev!"—warn full page announcements paid for and signed by business corporations that live on defense contracts. Such appeals for international mistrust are ultimately converted into additional Government orders for war paraphernalia. Even if some weapons are obsolete and no longer usable in modern warfare, the "patriotism" of a retired-general-turned-corporation-official dictates their production, provided it is ordered from his corporation.

Any social program that would benefit society at large is fought and in most cases defeated as "creeping Socialism"; but the Federal Government is trafficking over forty billion dollars annually to weapon manufacturers. And this is one economic activity from which industry would not allow our Government to resign.

* * *

As hypocritical as industry is when it invokes "principle" against government's economic activities, it is equally lacking in candor in its drive against taxes. Were it not for the heavy

m' We Settle For

load of taxes the Government collects, it could not make astronomical purchases from heavy industry. It seems, therefore, that industry's alleged fight against taxes is not less than suicidal. Is it conceivable that our heavy industry would advocate the reduction of taxes that would deprive the Government of funds to keep that industry in business?

The truth is that when industry speaks of tax reductions it has in mind a very special kind of reform. Of course, to the degree that taxes are used to advance society as a whole, industry wholeheartedly opposes them. But too great a portion of our national budget goes into armaments to make a tax reduction possible without the curtailment of armaments.

But behind the popular slogan of tax reduction, industry is actually fighting for a switch in the sources of Government revenue. In its view the ideal situation would be to collect taxes on a per capita rather than an income level basis. Their idea would be to divide the total amount necessary to finance all Government activities by the total number of citizens and to establish an equal tax for everybody—from pauper to millionaire. Of course, no one has his way completely; even the Eisenhower Administration "succeeded" only slightly in switching its revenue sources in this direction. This unscrupulous tendency towards unjust taxation is responsible for the uniquely American phenomenon of an abundance of toll highways and bridges. Why should a collector stand on a highway and, like a beggar, collect pennies from tourists? Is this country so poor it cannot finance its highways in a more organized and civilized manner? The problem is that were such highways and bridges paid for by a Government agency, the revenue would have to come from the wealthy to a greater degree than from the poor. Tolls, however, are collected on a completely equalitarian basis; rich and poor pay alike, a chauffeured Cadillac and an old jalopy are taxed equally.

The shameful tolls on our roads and bridges are only a symbol of the fiscal policies advocated and largely imposed by corporation owners who believe, not so incorrectly, that they own America. The same equalitarian injustice is exercised in the taxing of consumer goods, especially essential ones.

When our cartelists plead for a reduction in taxes, they have in mind only those taxes they are paying. They would like to see the income tax and the corporation taxes reduced, and they would seek the revenue so lost to the Government by taxing even more heavily articles that everyone consumes or uses more or less equally.

The general public needs to be aware of this lack of candor lest it be completely victimized by our selfish plutocrats and their misleading slogans.



"Why don't you hold up your end?"

The Food We Live By

CAVEAT!

By Jeanne S. Bagby

Are we indeed a nation of suckers, ready to be took? It would seem these days that every stone turned up dislodges yet another clan of fattening parasites, yet another scheme for fleecing the sheep. Hustling on every conceivable level has become our very atmosphere. How else account for the drug scandals and all the other lurid affairs rocking Consumerdom than by the sad fact that the public today is regarded strictly in terms of carnival psychology—a John to be taken, for as much and as long as you can bemuse him with spangles.

The Poisons In Your Food

By William Longgood
(Simon & Schuster; \$3.95)

And now at last it is revealed that even our innards are not free from the corruption. Not only do our drugs cost too much and do us harm, but the very food we eat has become so loaded with chemicals of questionable safety that it is virtually impossible to eat an uncontaminated meal in the U.S.A. The whole sordid story is exposed in William Longgood's carefully documented book. Read this book, John Q. Public, and weep.

For it has all happened so gradually, so naturally—granted the simple formula of "make it appear more attractive and you'll sell more"—and all in the name of progress, mind you. As an example of the food producers' position, in which these dangerous chemicals are regarded as agents of glorious scientific progress in food processing (all in the public interest, of course) read also the Government booklet *What Consumers Should Know About Food Additives* (U. S. Government Printing Office, 15¢). It is, in view of the proven facts, a masterpiece of current doubletalk. For it becomes obvious to anyone wending his horrified way through Longgood's first chapter that the Food and Drug Administration has been so blind to the dangers of wholesale chemicalization that only the blanketing pressure of a vast and powerful lobby can explain it. In view of such an entrenchment, it is greatly to the publisher's credit to have given us this highly readable (if you have a strong stomach) report.

Jeanne S. Bagby is a free-lance writer and a permanent contributor to THE MINORITY OF ONE.

In a series of chapters which can only be described as each more hair-raising than the last, the author divulges the extent of food adulteration in common practice today, ranging from copious quantities of DDT to dangerous amounts of cancer-causing antibiotics, colorings and synthetic hormones. As Longgood points out, "It is generally believed that the public is protected by the Pure Food Law. But it wasn't until the summer of 1958—some fifty-two years after passage of the original law—that Congress finally got around to requiring that chemicals be tested for 'safety' before they could be injected into foods, and then the new law was riddled with so many loopholes that it was largely ineffective as an instrument for consumer protection."

The Great Cranberry Scare of 1959 produced only a momentary fizzle of action in some of the more flagrant cases, such as toxic pesticides, coal-tar colors and stilbestrol hormones used to fatten and de-sex chickens (and possibly us, too), all of which were proven to cause cancer. But further legislation has not been passed and only the coal-tars are even under consideration. (Meanwhile, we are still getting oranges colored by dyes known to cause cancer.) Secretary Flemming of Health, Education and Welfare continues to be stymied in his efforts by our old friends, Vested Interests and Public Apathy.

We can only hope this book is read by more than the select segment of so-called food faddists—who may, after all, emerge as the only sensible group around, or at least, the healthiest. For the most dangerous implication of the whole mess is that we are no longer the healthiest, best-fed nation in the world. Our health is getting progressively worse, and Longgood reports that many doctors feel much of this deterioration can be traced to the poor nutritional value and toxic adulteration of our food. The situation worsens every day as producers find new ways to put false faces, flavors and frills in our food. What irony that the moral corruption so assiduously unearthed these days by earnest committees is matched by actual physical corruption of our bodies! Meanwhile, since the medical profession seems to be too busy lobbying against aid for the aged, we can only exhort the consumer antiques, "Caveat, caveat!"

Jawohl, Mr. President!

Take a mentally ill person, interview him on political affairs, jot down his answers and then have a politician or the press repeat them and a miracle happens: what began as an insane statement is transformed into a political doctrine. Or, let someone talk with assumed authority about a subject he obviously knows nothing about, and you will call him an ignoramus. But let the same talk be made by a prominent political leader and his ignorance is no longer ignorance—it becomes a “philosophy”. Were you or I to state, for instance, that Communism embraces philosophical statism, those who know the subject would call us intellectual impostors; but when the same nonsense was publicly pronounced by a West-Pointer-Turned-President, no one suggested his wasted college tuition be returned to him.

Such immunity of ignorance often accounts for press performances that make one wonder whether our “commentators” are in possession of their wits, or whether they are merely trying to upset the mental balance of the public.

To illustrate the point one need only to review certain recent developments. Within one week, an American pilot was shot down by Cuban security forces while landing his aircraft on the island in an unfriendly action and an American submarine was chased in Cuban territorial waters. Premier Castro went on the air and protested the provocations with deliberate restraint. His speech caused a wave of counter-criticism in the American press—and it is here that the sick mind is manifested. A George Sokolsky and a score of other columnists are so “surprised” and “shocked” by the Cuban leader’s “wild” and “unprovoked” attack, they are at such a total loss to understand what could have “possibly” prompted Castro’s criticism, that to provide an explanation they must resort to sheer speculation. Nowhere in their comments will you find a reference to the hostile American plane, nor to the elusive American submarine; instead Castro’s denunciation is “interpreted” as “evidence” of internal trouble which the Cuban leader seeks to overcome through diversionary foreign scapegoatism. And, of course, the “scapegoat” is absolutely innocent, a passive object of undeserved wrath and ruthlessness.

Or, take another instance. Not only did the outcry against Khrushchev’s reaction to the recent plane incident reflect a similar actual or synthetic loss of mental balance but even more so a Democratic-Republican idyll that followed the blunder. It seems that the surest way for a president of the United States to regain lost prestige is to involve his country in crisis and provocation. After our press’s initial confusion, the commentators and politicians suddenly “forgot” the reasons for Soviet anger, and rationalized Mr. Khrushchev’s protests into attempts to appease hypothetical domestic criticism.

Here is a classic instance of self-projection. But the truth of the matter is that after the initial shock our press suddenly woke up to its “patriotic” duty to align itself behind a president “in trouble”.

When Anthony Eden involved his country in a course of action with regard to Suez that a segment of his countrymen considered a mistake, it cost him and his government their political life. In our own not dissimilar situation, much criticism of the Administration was voiced for a day or two, and then everybody spoke up against “deserting” the President. Senators

of both parties, newspapers who for a day took seriously their duty to criticize, suddenly indulged in a kind of auction of loyalty to a president departing for Paris.

And still it is alleged that there is an opposition in this country. If the Administration has been guilty of an inexcusable blunder in the spy plane incident, the democratic “opposition” has been equally guilty, not only of compliance, but of defeating democracy itself by abstaining from active opposition on an issue for which only opposition could have provided a remedy.

“No Government can be long secure without a formidable Opposition.”

— Benjamin Disraeli

NATO AND MENDERES

It is more than symbolic that the recent deliberations of the NATO foreign ministers in Istanbul were accompanied by student demonstrations against the government of Premier Adnan Menderes. The double standards prevailing in the “Free World” could hardly be more dramatically exemplified. While avowedly NATO exists and accumulates strength for no other purpose than to defend man’s freedom, in actuality it remains quite undisturbed and unconcerned with any degree of oppression that aligns itself against the Soviet bloc. The composure of NATO, as well as the peripheral cooperation outside its actual membership, at least partly reflects qualities that would more become the infamous Apalachin gathering than a body that claims to represent the conscience of half the world.

While, in NATO assemblies, Menderes’s aides are delivering pious lectures on defending liberty from the Communists, in the homes and streets of Turkey people are being arrested and held in administrative confinement for exercising that liberty.

NATO’s diplomatic in-laws, like Franco’s Spain and South Korea, have the blood of their innocent and freedom-seeking citizens on their conscience, yet we insist NATO exists for nothing but the preservation of liberty. Millions of people under NATO and its in-law governments live in hunger, ignorance and total deprivation, yet we claim we desire nothing but the protection of those people’s rights, which they are obviously denied. Governments spend billions of dollars on armaments but refuse to disburse meager millions on health, education and welfare, and yet we claim NATO protects nothing but people’s obviously non-existent welfare.

The only *constructive* role NATO could fulfill is *theoretically* advocated by its Secretary-General, Paul-Henri Spaak. His ideas of NATO’s economic, social and educational challenges are as inspiring as the organization’s military buoyancy and emphasis are morbid. Unfortunately, Spaak’s personal ideas remain no more than ideas vouchsafed a dubious lip service. The truth of the matter is that NATO was organized to fight the cold war, and if necessary, a war as hot as a nuclear explosion. While the military effectiveness of NATO has suffered a decisive defeat by virtue of technological development, it would be foolhardy to expect such a robust military institution to metamorphose into an unselfish, humane instrument of public welfare.

It is this robustness that, from its very inception and genesis, led NATO to pose no political conditions for membership; all it demanded from its joiners and sympathizers was military robustness in turn. Perhaps its partial spiritual salvation would lie in establishing minimum political standards for members of its “family”. Perhaps it could even, discreetly or openly, persuade a Menderes that muscles alone are not a sufficient qualification for international marriage.

One thing is certain: NATO’s force is undoubtedly sufficient to extract liberalizing concessions from Menderes. Success, however, does not hinge on NATO’s ample influence and persuasive ability, but rather on its intentions and true concerns. As long as NATO regards “liberty” as nothing but a propagandistic cover-up, it would certainly be reluctant to apply itself towards truly liberating ends.

A Personal Note From The Editor:

You may have wondered where the financial means that make this costly publication possible come from. When I tell you that I myself, a man of very limited income, am its sole financial backer, you may also wonder what inspires this sacrifice.

From certain articles in *THE MINORITY OF ONE* you may have noted that being a Jew I was incarcerated in German concentration camps for five years. There I saw thousands of people, including my father, my mother and my sister, die of starvation and tortures, in gas chambers and before firing squads. I myself was subjected to tortures I did not believe a human being could endure.

Yet, I survived. Frankly, one who sees his entire social environment wiped out cannot help being obsessed by an irrational feeling of guilt for surviving himself. It is as if I had to justify my survival by serving justice and humanity as best I understand them.

I have seen men like you and me, loyal to their families, adoring their children, even caring for their pets commit the most heinous bestialities. What shook me to the very depth of my being was the stark realization that men, not unlike myself in their feelings and motivations, were nevertheless capable of such utter acts of violence and brutality. Reluctantly, I admitted that no inherent dignity rendered me immune to committing similar bestialities. Fearfully, I believed that all human beings contain in themselves the same shocking potential.

What then, I was forced to ask myself, transformed a mere human being into a bloodthirsty, monstrous SS man? I believe it was his personal

weakness and self-doubt leading to blind trust in the state's infallibility and substituting this external reliance for a personal conscience. Out of this sacrifice of conscience, this self-negation and reverence for the state's authority, he was driven to participate in the most atrocious crimes unaware of the horror of his deeds.

These thoughts awakened me to a responsibility for alerting my fellow man to intellectual and moral self-assertion. We must never sacrifice personal conscience to any external infallibility lest we too participate in injustices without being aware of them. It is this idea I believe *THE MINORITY OF ONE* is serving.

The response to *THE MINORITY OF ONE* has been enthusiastic, but unfortunately, since I refuse to commercialize the venture or to accept financial support from any political quarters, and since my own personal savings as well as all the indemnity I received from the German Government are exhausted, a point has been reached where the continuation of this publication is endangered just when its continuation seems to bear a promise of eventual self-support. I am not asking for any personal help; *THE MINORITY OF ONE* is not intended for profits. But I am asking for your help in making this forum continue.

More than outright contributions we need gift subscriptions from those who give us moral support. If you will enter gift subscriptions for your friends and ask them to do likewise, a chain reaction will result which will see us through.

The timing of your help is of crucial importance. If you intend to respond to this appeal, please do it NOW. You will be that much better and richer for doing it.

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Of What I Am Ashamed:

► OF Interior Secretary Fred A. Seaton's refusal to submit information to the House Information Subcommittee on a million dollar land deal in Death Valley, Calif., between the National Park Services and the Borax Chemical Company, and OF his four aides who at the time of negotiating the deal were the guests of the Borax company at an exclusive resort.

► OF the unscrupulous deportation of W. Niukkanen, 52, of Portland, Ore., who was brought to the U. S. from Finland when he was less than a year old, for having been a "bread and butter" member of the Communist Party in 1937-1939.

► OF the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy for holding "rigged" hearings calculated to give the impression of the complete futility of any detection devices for atomic explosions and thus continuing to further its opposition to a nuclear ban.

► OF the ingenious brand of payola introduced by the House of Representatives in voting \$25,000 as a gift to the widow of Gen. Peyton C. March under the flimsy pretext of repaying an outlay by the late general when he unofficially toured Germany 38 years ago.

► OF the Council of State Chambers of Commerce for its drive against federal assistance to education.

► OF President Eisenhower's partisan maneuvering with the summit conference by inviting his hand-picked presidential favorite, Richard Nixon, to sit in for him on that occasion.

► OF Senator Everett M. Dirksen's maneuvers to block investigations of the safety and efficacy of a suspected new drug by the Antitrust and Monopoly Subcommittee of which the Senator is a member.

► OF the continued imprisonment of Dr. Willard Uphaus, a 69 year old Christian pacifist clergyman, by the state of New Hampshire, for his refusal, on grounds of conscience, to become an informer.

► OF the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee for using its hearings to provide hostile propaganda against Cuba.

► OF Senator George Smathers for introducing a bill cutting the Cuban sugar quota.

► OF the Justice Department's trumped up charge that anti-Castro flight missions by American pilots were staged by Castro's aides themselves.

► OF J. Mark Trice, Secretary of the Senate Republican minority, for dismissing his assistant William R. Martin, because the latter is chairman of a Quaker group that advises draftees of their right to claim conscientious objector status under the Selective Service law.

► OF President Eisenhower's planned courtesy call on the deposed tyrant Syngman Rhee during his forthcoming visit to South Korea.

► OF the San Francisco, California, police for attacking several hundred demonstrators against the House Un-American Committee.

► OF Rep. Arch A. Moore, Jr. and his supporters for advocating "protective" tariff policies of the U. S. Government.

► OF the terror resorted to by police in Columbia, S. C. and by white supremacists in Savannah, Ga. and Biloxi, Miss., against peaceful Negro demonstrators, demanding equality of rights.

► OF former U.N. commander in Korea General Mark Clark's urging the United States to withdraw from the United Nations.

THE MINORITY OF ONE ... *

Gutenberg's invention of modern printing gave mankind not only a revolutionary means for exchanging ideas but also a powerful weapon for manipulating man's mind.

Of all of man's rights and liberties the most precious one is freedom of thought. It is the quintessence of freedom. As George Orwell put it: "*Freedom is the freedom to say that two plus two make four. If that is granted, all else follows.*"

Of all oppressions the oppression of thought operates through the subtlest channels. It is incomparably less conspicuous than starvation, denial of political rights, or corporal abuse. Like a tasteless poison, it attacks the victim without warning.

One particular form of thought oppression is the most degrading of human experiences; its victims are masses of volunteers, mentally anaesthetized by orthodoxy and conformity. Again to quote Orwell: "*Orthodoxy means not thinking—not needing to think. Orthodoxy is unconsciousness.*" Orthodoxy is mental suicide.

THE MINORITY OF ONE will tear away at the invisible chains of the mind. It will exercise the right of saying that two plus two make four, paying no heed to political taboos.

We believe that the ultimate test of a civilization's worthiness and ability to survive lies in the quality of the individuals it produces. Hurrah-patriotism, flag waving, and blind, nationalistic self-contentment are no substitutes. In the fierce international competition of our era, they will prove not only futile, but also detrimental to our society. If we are to be both worthy and able to survive the Communist challenge, we must be prepared to make a national virtue of self-criticism.

Self-criticism is not inimical to patriotism. On the contrary, it is an indispensable ingredient of genuine concern and devotion to one's society. Otherwise, only the stupid could be patriotic . . .

To retain its independence, THE MINORITY OF ONE will not be open to commercial advertising. Its success will depend entirely on the support of its readers. We trust that those who welcome truly free discussion will not only themselves become subscribers, but also help us to reach their friends.

* Introductory article from the first issue.

THE MINORITY OF ONE carries no specific political message. Its name derives from its purpose—to contribute to the individual's intellectual self-assertion. You and I are the minorities of one, if only we do not fear our thoughts. Our thoughts may collide, or they may coincide or complement each other, but even then let us each remain a minority of one. If you lend us support on this, no matter how many of our specific views you may dissent from, we believe you to be our friend.

A HEARTFELT THANK YOU

to the many Subscribers whose generosity in entering gift subscriptions and donations made the continuation of THE MINORITY OF ONE possible thus far.

We trust that many individuals will follow in their footsteps and that this forum, free of the corrupting influence of vested interests, will endure, thanks to continued efforts of its readers.

